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# Selective Aspects of Rural Migrations<sup>1</sup>

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## ABSTRACT

The present study was undertaken for the purpose of testing the hypothesis that a selection of intelligence occurs in rural-urban migrations. The scholastic records, together with data on place of residence in 1938, were secured for 5,464 former rural high school students who were in attendance between 1920 and 1930. For this sample it is apparent that a certain amount of selection does occur, and that the differences between the mean scholastic indexes of the rural-farm, rural-nonfarm, and urban groups are statistically significant. When the data were analyzed in terms of "range of migration," a rough measure of distance between the place of original residence and the place of residence in 1938, significant differences between the mean scholastic indexes were observed. Females had a considerably higher scholastic rating than males, but the pattern of the selective process seems to be much the same for both sexes. The evidence seems to indicate that in so far as scholastic achievement is a measure of individual competence the cities are profiting by the urbanward migrations.

The purpose of this investigation was to test the familiar hypothesis that rural migrations involve certain selective processes which tend to favor the emigration of the more competent individuals in a community. Stated somewhat differently and more specifically, the object was to ascertain if the proportion of "superior" or "inferior" persons is greater among rural migrants than among non-migrants, to determine if the size of the community receiving the migrants is a factor in the selective process, to discover if distance of movement has any relation to qualitative selection, and to note any differences in selectivity between males and females. With full realization of the difficulties imposed by the lack of a concise definition of "quality," as well as by the limitations of existing measuring instruments, the criterion chosen for such measurement was an index of scholastic achievement derived from high school records. There is no assumption, however, that scholastic grades necessarily represent an index of the inherent mental qualities of the individual student; all that can be said is that they are a rough gauge of the individual's intellectual achievements in terms of academic requirements assigned by school functionaries. Obviously there is a

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multiplicity of factors, both biological and social, which influence the person's scholastic attainments.

The sample selected for this study included 5,464 persons all of whom had been students in high school in 97 rural Missouri communities between 1920 and 1930, most of them between 1923 and 1927. To provide a basis for a comparative analysis in terms of the central hypothesis to be tested, data on scholastic achievement were secured from the school records for each individual during the period of attendance. In addition, information was also secured concerning the present post office address of each person in 1938, his farm or rural-farm residence at the time he was attending school, and his present occupation. With these data at hand it was then possible to classify the former students according to rural or urban residence at the time of the investigation, size of present community, distance of migration, and occupation.

The data were gathered by three field workers who visited communities within a radius of 75 miles of Columbia, and by school executives in towns located in more remote parts of the state. Use was made of a simple schedule upon which was recorded the relevant information. Although data on scholastic achievement were a matter of official record, it was necessary to secure the additional information from parents, relatives, former teachers, postmasters, and certain other persons in the community. Where there was any doubt as to the accuracy of the data, the information was checked from more than one source or discarded altogether.

In order to reduce scholastic grades of all students to a comparable basis the marks received in school were translated into an index number representing a measure of relative differences in achievement. In Missouri schools five marks of proficiency in studies are given: E, excellent; S, superior; M, medium; I, inferior; and F, failure. One of these grades is entered on the record for each subject pursued in the high school curriculum. Since it was considered advisable to select the most adequate measures of intellectual ability, only marks for purely academic studies were included, grades in music, manual training, domestic science, and other non-academic courses being ignored. The grades were averaged by giving each a numerical evaluation, E being weighted by 4, S by 3, M by 2, I by 1, and F by 0. To allow for the possibility that standards of grading might vary in different schools, with the result that a quality of work appraised at, say, M in one school might receive an S in another, one further step was taken. The average thus obtained for each individual was related to the average made by all the students in that school by dividing the individual rating by the average for the entire school. For example, a student with a rating of 2.00, indicating



an M average, in a school in which the group average was M, would have a final index of  $\frac{2.00}{2.00}$  or 1. Students ranking higher than the school average would rank above 1.00; those lower would have an index number less than 1.00.

It is also important to point out the fact that a selective process with respect to scholastic achievement probably is in existence before high school is reached, and that proportionately more of the duller pupils drop out of school at the completion of the eighth grade or even earlier. For this reason the sample may not represent an accurate cross section of the population as far as intelligence is concerned. An attempt was

TABLE I  
DISTRIBUTION BY SEX OF SCHOLASTIC INDICES OF 5,461 FORMER HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS\*

SCHOLASTIC INDEX	SEX					
	Total		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total.....	5,461	100.00	2,422	100.00	3,039	100.00
Less than 25.....	2	.04	1	.04	1	.03
25-39.....	16	.29	11	.46	5	.16
40-54.....	143	2.62	102	4.21	41	1.35
55-69.....	447	8.19	287	11.85	160	5.27
70-84.....	907	16.61	530	21.88	377	12.40
85-99.....	1,206	22.08	556	22.96	650	21.39
100-114.....	1,212	22.19	469	19.36	743	24.45
115-129.....	810	14.83	262	10.82	548	18.03
130-144.....	477	8.74	131	5.41	346	11.39
145-159.....	184	3.37	54	2.23	130	4.28
160-174.....	47	.86	17	.70	30	.99
175 and over.....	10	.18	2	.08	8	.26

\* Does not include 3 persons for whom data on sex were not reported.

made to secure eighth grade records at the time the sample was collected. However, a sufficient number was not available in the communities studied to make such an analysis possible.

Before any interpretation is made of the selective character of migrations it is important to note the difference in scholastic achievement between males and females, since the factor of sex will presently be considered in the analysis of population movement. Of the 5,461 persons in the total sample for whom data on sex were available, 2,422, or 44 per cent, were males and 3,039 or 56 per cent were females. In comparing the academic ratings of the two sexes it was found that the females ranked considerably higher in scholarship than the males. The mean

scholastic index for women was 106.08, in contrast to 93.98 for men, the observed difference between the means being 12.10. The ratio of the difference of the means to its standard error was 17.81. Since a ratio of 2 is ordinarily considered statistically significant, the chances are overwhelming that the observed differences between the means are true differences and not the result of accidental conditions of sampling.

A frequency table showing the distribution of males and females in terms of the scholastic ratings received in high school brings out these differences in another way. The modal scholastic index for females falls within the class interval 100-114, whereas for males it falls in the class interval 85-99. Approximately one-fifth (19.24 per cent) of the males had a scholastic index of 115 or over as compared to nearly two-fifths (34.94 per cent) of the females.

With this sex distinction in scholarship in mind, the central problem of the investigation, namely, the selective aspects of population movement, may be considered. In relating scholastic achievement to the spatial movement of the population, two patterns of migration were designated: first, the *farm-village-urban pattern*, and second, the *range-of-migration pattern*.

In classifying individuals according to the type of community in which they lived at the time of the investigation, the distinctions established by the Census Bureau for the rural-farm, rural-nonfarm, and urban population were followed. A further measure of refinement of the rural-nonfarm communities was obtained by sub-dividing the towns into two categories, small villages having less than 1,000 population and larger towns having from 1,000 to 2,499 persons. Similarly, the urban communities were subdivided into three classes: small cities less than 10,000 (to be referred to as class I), medium cities ranging in size from 10,000 to 49,999 (class II), and large centers of 50,000 or over (class III).

From an examination of the data in Table IIa it is apparent that certain differences in scholastic ratings exist when the former students were classified according to type or size of place of residence in 1938. The mean S. I. (Scholastic Index) for the rural-farm group was 96.82, for the village population it was 100.92, while the urban residents had an average of 102.16. Residents of small villages, interestingly enough, had a higher mean S. I. than those living in larger rural towns. On the other hand, the mean index of urban residents tended to increase consistently with the size of the city. For small cities, comprising class I, the mean S. I. was 100.56, slightly less than that of the rural-nonfarm

population but well above that of the farm group; residents in cities of class II had a mean index of 101.46, almost the same as the rating for the group living in small rural villages; while occupants of class III cities had a mean rating of 103.10, higher than for any other type of community (See Figure I).

The actual significance of these data may be indicated by statistical reliability tests of the differences between the means of the scholastic indices. For the total rural and total urban groups the ratio of the computed difference of the means to their standard error was 3.65, indicating high statistical reliability of the observed differences. Significant differences were also found between the means of the rural-farm

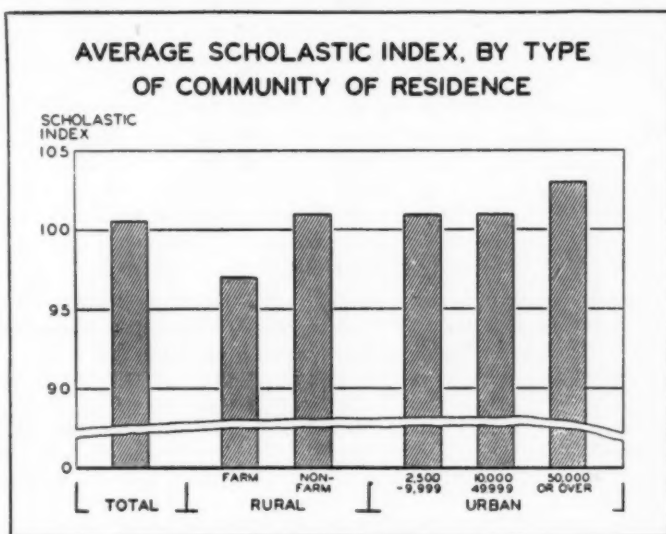


FIGURE I

and rural-nonfarm group (ratio 4.16), and between the means of the farm and total urban sample (ratio 5.52). Although the difference between the mean S. I. of the urban group and the residents of larger rural towns was found to be significant (ratio 2.15), no significant differences existed between the means of the urban residents and the occupants of small villages (ratio .64). The mean S. I. for residents of class III cities was reliably higher than that of all other types of communities except small villages (ratio 1.47) and medium sized cities (ratio 1.18). Differences between the mean scholastic ratings of small-city residents and the nonfarm group were found to be insignificant (See Table IIb).

Females had a significantly higher scholastic index than males when the two groups were considered without reference to migrations. In

determining the degree of selection involved in migrations it was therefore necessary to compare the scholastic index of each sex-group residing in a given type of community with the scholastic rating for the

TABLE IIa  
ARITHMETIC MEAN OF THE SCHOLASTIC INDICES OF 5,187 FORMER STUDENTS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING  
TO TYPE OF COMMUNITY OF RESIDENCE IN 1938\*

TYPE OF COMMUNITY OF RESIDENCE	NUMBER	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	PROBABLE ERROR
Total .....	5,187	100.67	25.56	±.24
Rural .....	2,961	99.55	25.43	±.32
Farm .....	990	96.82	25.19	±.54
Nonfarm .....	1,971	100.92	25.44	±.39
Less than 1,000 .....	1,220	101.59	25.27	±.49
1,000-2,499 .....	751	99.83	25.69	±.63
Urban .....	2,226	102.16	25.64	±.37
2,500-9,999 .....	512	100.56	24.66	±.73
10,000-49,999 .....	482	101.46	25.84	±.79
50,000 and over .....	1,232	103.10	25.93	±.50

TABLE IIb  
RATIO OF THE OBSERVED DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MEANS OF SCHOLASTIC INDICES TO THE STANDARD  
ERROR OF THE DIFFERENCE FOR 5,187 FORMER STUDENTS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO  
TYPE OF COMMUNITY OF RESIDENCE IN 1938\*

	TOTAL RURAL	FARM	TOTAL NON- FARM	LESS THAN 1,000	1,000- 2,499	TOTAL URBAN	2,500 TO 9,999	10,000 TO 49,999	50,000 AND OVER
Total .....	1.91	4.40	.37	1.14	.84	2.30	.10	.65	3.09
Total rural .....		2.94	1.85	2.37	.27	3.65	.85	1.51	4.07
Farm .....			4.16	4.42	2.44	5.52	2.77	3.26	5.77
Total nonfarm .....				.73	.99	1.58	.29	.42	2.34
Less than 1,000 .....					1.48	.64	.79	.09	1.47
1,000-2,499 .....						2.15	.51	1.08	2.74
Total urban .....							1.32	.54	1.03
2,500-9,999 .....								.56	1.94
10,000-49,999 .....									1.18

\* Does not include 277 persons for whom data on residence were not reported.

total sample of the same sex. The general impression that one gets from the calculations in Table III is that the selective process is much the same for both sexes. However, certain apparently significant differences may be observed. In cities of Class II, the scholastic index of males was 101.99 per cent of the mean index for the total sample of

males, whereas the index for females was only 100.03 per cent of the mean for all women. In urban communities of Class I, the mean scholastic index for men was 98.92 per cent of the mean for all males, but for women the mean exceeded the average for the total sample of females, the ratio being 100.56 per cent. For male farmers the mean was 95.41 per cent of the average for the entire group of men, while for farm females the mean was 96.93 per cent of the average for all women. Other than these differences, which do not appear to alter significantly the major selective pattern, superior men seem to be migrating from rural areas in about the same proportions as superior women.

TABLE III

MEAN SCHOLASTIC INDICES FOR 5,184 MALES AND FEMALES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO TYPE OF COMMUNITY OF RESIDENCE IN 1938, WITH RATIO OF MEAN INDICES TO THE AVERAGE OF THE ENTIRE SEX GROUP\*

TYPE OF COMMUNITY OF RESIDENCE	MALE		FEMALE	
	Mean	Ratio†	Mean	Ratio†
Total.....	93.78	100.00	106.12	100.00
Total rural.....	92.54	98.68	104.93	98.88
Farm.....	89.48	95.41	102.86	96.93
Nonfarm.....	94.16	100.41	105.92	99.81
Under 1,000.....	94.56	100.83	106.28	100.15
1,000-2,499.....	93.57	99.78	105.30	99.23
Total urban.....	95.37	101.70	107.75	101.54
2,500-9,999.....	92.77	98.92	106.71	100.56
10,000-49,999.....	95.65	101.99	106.15	100.03
50,000 and over.....	96.31	102.70	108.82	102.54

\* Does not include 280 persons for whom no data on sex or residence were reported.

† This ratio was obtained by dividing the mean index of each category by the mean index of the total sample for males and for females.

The concept of range of migration as used here is a measure of the distance between the residence of individuals in 1938 and the residence when they were attending high school. No regard was given to moves and distances which might have been involved as steps in reaching the place of residence in 1938. The factor of distance was measured by zones representing concentric political divisions and sub-divisions surrounding the communities in which the schools were located. Persons residing at the same address as when in school were classified as non-migrants. No doubt some of these individuals were living in the same dwelling as that at the time school was attended; others, in view of the fact that Rural Free Delivery from a given village serves the surround-



ing farm population, could conceivably be located 10 or 15 miles from the original place of residence. The second classification with respect to range of migration included individuals living in the same county but not at the same address. It seems safe to assume that nearly all of these individuals moved, though the appearance of new villages which did not exist at the time school was attended, re-routing of R. F. D. lines, and the installation of new post offices might indicate a shift which actually did not occur. The third classification in terms of distance moved was made for persons living in counties adjoining the county in which school was attended, and the next included individuals residing in other Missouri counties. Persons migrating outside the state were classified as residents of states adjoining Missouri, residents of other states, and residents of foreign countries.

This method has been used by Lively and other investigators and appears to be satisfactory for the analysis of data relating to distance of movement. In a more detailed and refined analysis an accurate criterion of distance measured in terms of miles moved from point of origin might be desirable. Particularly would this be the situation where many irregularly-shaped political divisions and sub-divisions were involved. It should be pointed out that in counties forming part of the border between Missouri and other states, migrants may have moved farther in going to adjoining counties or other counties in Missouri than in going to states adjoining Missouri. However, these situations were considered unimportant in the analysis since not more than one-fifth of the individuals lived in counties adjacent to state boundaries, and since there appears to be an advantage in considering the influence of state lines on population movement. For example, teachers might be handicapped in moving across state lines because of difficulties in certification.

Almost two-thirds of the individuals studied were living at an address different from that at the time school was attended. Slightly over one-half had moved to places in the state beyond the counties in which the schools were located, and one-fifth were living outside Missouri. Only six persons were living in foreign countries. A comparison of scholastic indices of persons residing in the different zones indicates clearly that the better students moved in larger proportions than the poorer students. While the average scholastic index did not increase consistently from the first zone to the most distant zone, a definite relationship existed. The average index for persons living at the same address as when in school was 97.85; those living in the same



county but at a different address averaged 99.51; while the averages for those living in adjoining counties and in other counties in Missouri were 101.24 and 103.77, respectively (See Figure II). With the exception of two combinations, statistically significant differences existed between these averages. No reliable differences were found to exist, first, between the group living at the same address as in school and the group in the same county but not the same address and, second, between individuals residing in adjoining counties and those located in the same county but not at the same address. The largest observed difference, 5.99, was between individuals having the same address as when in

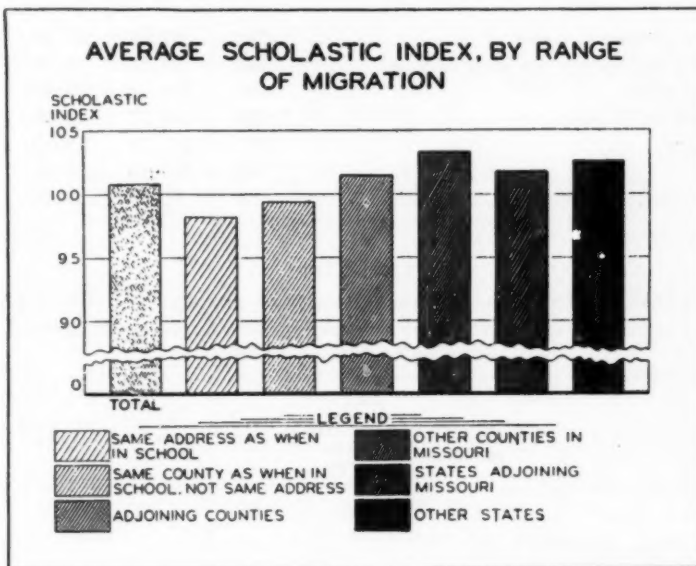


FIGURE II

school and the group living in other Missouri counties. This difference was approximately six times its standard error (See Table IVb).

The average scholastic index for persons living outside Missouri was slightly less than for Missouri residents located in counties other than those adjoining the home county. Persons located in states adjacent to Missouri had an average scholastic index of 101.71, while those living in other states averaged 102.51.<sup>5</sup> However, when compared to the S. I. for persons residing in outlying Missouri counties the differences are too small to be considered statistically reliable.

<sup>5</sup> Statistically significant differences exist between these averages and that for persons living at the same address as when in school.

The average index for males living in counties adjoining the home county was 102.10 per cent of the average for all males, while for females in this zone the average was 99.30 per cent of the mean for women. In other words, males in adjoining counties appeared to be slightly supe-

TABLE IVa  
ARITHMETIC MEAN OF THE SCHOLASTIC INDICES OF 5,316 FORMER STUDENTS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN 1938\*

RANGE OF MIGRATION	NUMBER	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	PROBABLE ERROR
Total.....	5,316	100.59	25.57	±.24
Same address as when in school.....	1,798	97.85	25.50	±.41
Same county as school but not same address.....	633	99.51	24.58	±.66
Adjoining counties.....	697	101.24	24.36	±.62
Other counties in Missouri.....	1,099	103.77	26.05	±.53
Adjacent states.....	461	101.71	25.32	±.80
Other states.....	622	102.51	26.56	±.72
Foreign countries.....	6	92.50	21.21	±5.84

TABLE IVb  
RATIO OF THE OBSERVED DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MEANS OF SCHOLASTIC INDICES TO THE STANDARD ERROR OF THE DIFFERENCE FOR 5,316 FORMER STUDENTS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN 1938\*

	SAME ADDRESS AS WHEN IN SCHOOL	SAME COUNTY AS SCHOOL BUT NOT SAME ADDRESS	ADJOINING COUNTIES	OTHER COUNTIES IN MISSOURI	ADJACENT STATES	OTHER STATES
Total.....	3.94	1.04	.66	3.70	.91	1.71
Same address as when in school.....		1.45	3.08	5.99	2.92	3.81
Same county as school but not same address.....			1.28	3.40	1.43	2.07
Adjoining counties.....				2.09	.31	.90
Other counties in Missouri....					1.46	.96
Adjacent states.....						.50

\* Does not include 148 persons for whom data were not reported.

rior in relation to their average, while females were slightly inferior. In states other than those adjoining Missouri males and females were both above the average for their group. However, for females the average was 103.34 per cent of the mean for all females, while males were only 101.20 per cent of the mean for all males. All of these differences are small and it is doubtful if they can be accepted as reliable in

establishing two distinct patterns of migration based upon sex. Rather it would seem that the selective process in population movements apply fairly equally to both males and females (See Table V).

It should be noted that not all the differences between the scholastic indices of farm and rural non-farm residents can be attributed to a selective process in population movement because classification based upon place of residence *at time of attending school* revealed a difference between farm and village, with the village being slightly superior. The difference between the average scholastic indices of the village and farm groups based upon residence while in school was 1.38; this difference

TABLE V  
MEAN SCHOLASTIC INDICES FOR 5,313 MALES AND FEMALES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO RANGE OF  
MIGRATION, WITH RATIO OF MEAN INDICES TO THE AVERAGE FOR THE ENTIRE  
SEX GROUP\*

RANGE OF MIGRATION	MALE		FEMALE	
	Mean	Ratio	Mean	Ratio
Total.....	93.73		106.07	
Same address as when in school.....	90.91	96.99	103.64	97.71
Same county as school but not same address.....	92.21	98.38	104.67	98.68
Adjoining counties.....	95.70	102.10	105.33	99.30
Other counties in Missouri.....	96.54	103.00	109.14	102.89
States adjoining Missouri.....	95.90	102.32	106.66	100.56
Other states.....	94.94	101.29	109.61	103.34

\* Does not include 151 persons for whom no data were reported.

was almost twice (1.94) its standard error and therefore has some significance. The remainder of the difference existing between village and farm classifications based upon residence in 1938 would be the product of a selective process in migration, and appears large enough to be considered reliable. At the same time the difference between rural and urban groups can be explained in terms of selective migrations, since all the original communities were classified as rural.

Whether the pattern of selection found in this study is a local or regional phenomenon, or whether it is typical of rural migrations in different parts of the country, there is no way of knowing until other comparable investigations are conducted. There is a definite possibility that the selective pattern would vary according to type of rural economy, demographic and cultural characteristics of the population, the prevailing plane of living of the rural residents, and the distance to

large urban centers. Thus the selective pattern in the New England states or in the Pacific Northwest, for instance, might conceivably be different from what has been found to exist in Missouri.

Even if it is found that the selective pattern in Missouri is characteristic of rural migrations for the country as a whole, the effect of this selection on the structure and functions of both rural and urban communities is still a matter of conjecture. In the first place, there is no evidence that the progeny of the scholastically inferior group would be lower in native capacity than the offspring of individuals comprising the superior category, although it is quite possible that they might be. If it could be established that high scholastic achievement is positively correlated with superior genetic qualities, then it could be argued that the rural stock in Missouri is gradually being depleted by the process of selective migration. It may be that superior individuals represent unique but rare combinations of genetic factors. These same genetic factors may be found in the germ plasm of other members of the same family but in combinations which do not produce superiority. The capacity for reproducing superior offspring might, however, be enjoyed by both the mediocre and the superior of the same family line. It would make little difference, then, as far as the qualities of the stock go, whether it is the superior or the mediocre within a family line which migrate. Only when whole family lines of superior genetic quality migrate would the average of abilities of the entire rural stock be affected. The problem, however, is speculative.

Secondly, there is little evidence that the selective migrations described in this article are depriving the rural communities of their best potential leaders and at the same time providing the cities with the types of persons especially qualified for positions of leadership. If it were known that individuals doing superior school work tend to make the most competent community leaders, and possibly also the most enlightened followers, then it might be demonstrated that the rural areas are suffering social losses as a consequence of selective migrations. But as yet we do not know for certain if this relationship exists. Even assuming that the potentially superior leaders are migrating heavily to cities and larger towns, one cannot conclude that *all* socially qualified persons are leaving rural areas. Although a disproportionate number of scholastically superior persons in the Missouri sample migrated from rural communities, there nevertheless remained on farms and in small villages many individuals who manifest quite as much competence as the more talented migrants. It is therefore a question

whether the number of able persons remaining in rural areas is sufficiently large to provide enlightened leadership and followership, or any other socially-valued qualities. On the basis of existing evidence one can hardly afford to be dogmatic about the matter.

By the same token, the effect of selective migrations on urban communities is still largely conjectural. If cities are attracting an undue percentage of superior rural persons, and if these persons are potentially the most competent leaders, there is still little known about what this means to the fabric of urban society. Furthermore, if cities are selective of intelligence, may they not also be selective of the emotionally unstable, the adventurous, the romantic, the delinquent? Similarly, it is possible that the farms are more attractive than cities to persons who are emotionally stable, unimaginative, hard-working, and home-loving.

Here, then, is a field of human relationships about which exists so much uncertainty that the particularistic formulation of any theories would be extremely premature. What is needed now is a series of systematic investigations in different parts of the country to test the fundamental hypothesis and therefore provide reliable data for a theory of selective migrations. From a practical standpoint, persons interested in the organization of community life and in the development of school curricula might profitably concern themselves with the problem and with the data that are already available. For if migrations are selective of intelligence, as may well be the case, certainly the schools and other institutions could well be adapted to the existing situation.



# The Distribution of the German Pioneer Population in Minnesota

By Hildegard Binder-Johnson\*

## ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study was to determine the proportion of German stock in the total population in Minnesota for the years, 1860 and 1870. German stock included German-born persons from Europe and American-born children of German parents. The sources of the data were the manuscript census lists of 1860 and 1870. The difficulties of such a handcount are discussed. A sample of the technique of listing and excerpting the data is given. The percentages of German stock are shown for the smallest workable units, i.e., the townships, in six different shades on two maps. The original maps were drawn on a larger scale than that of the reproductions. Cartographic techniques for population maps are explained. The maps reveal that German pioneers concentrated around the bend of the Minnesota River. German population centers were in Carver, Sibley, Nicollet, and Brown Counties. The same townships in Carver, Sibley, and Brown Counties showed heavy percentages in 1860 as well as in 1870, thus demonstrating that Germans preferred to settle among Germans rather than to move with the frontier. Religious influence was significant in Stearns County. The data from the study provide a basis for further research, such as dealing with factors conditioning settlement, routes used by emigrants, occupational distribution of this nationality, and others.

During the decade from 1860 to 1870 the population of Minnesota increased from 172,023 inhabitants to 439,706. This increase of 155.6 per cent was never reached again during the following decades. During the same period, the number of inhabitants born in Germany rose from 18,400 in 1860 to 48,457 in 1870,<sup>1</sup> a proportional increase that is also unequaled in the history of the German element in Minnesota. In 1870, the commissioner of immigration in New York harbor, Friedrich Kapp, stated that unfortunately "immigrants are considered an aggregate of human beings only with no characteristic distinction except that of nationality."<sup>2</sup> Mr. Kapp knew the conditions which confronted the immigrants upon their arrival in the United States. He had observed the "runners" or boarding house keepers who frequently took advantage of non-English speaking immigrants to overcharge them. Employers wishing to recruit cheap labor from the

\* The author wishes to acknowledge her indebtedness to the Social Science Research Council for aid granted for a study of the Germans in Minnesota of which the following paper is a part.

<sup>1</sup> R. W. Murchie and M. E. Jarchow, *Population Trends in Minnesota*, University of Minnesota A. E. S., B 327, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Friedrich Kapp, *Immigration and the commissioners of emigration in the State of New York*. (New York 1870), p. 42.



ranks of newcomers in dire need of employment, and land agents desiring to attract settlers to vast spaces in the interior, were not interested in individual qualifications, training, and occupations of immigrants. To them the immigrants were not to be grouped into skilled laborers, craftsmen, farmers, merchants, or whatever trade they might have followed in their home country. To them the immigrants were "Scandinavians," "Germans," "Irish," "English."

But by the time that the immigrants arrived in the Middle West they acquired a new label. The people who came in covered wagons or by river boats to settle in the Middle West and to conquer the frontier were thought of and spoken of as "frontiersmen," "pioneers," "homesteaders" rather than of Scandinavians, Germans, Irish, etc. In Minnesota they also might have become "lumberjacks." Their coming to the Middle West and their common purpose in coming overshadowed their different national characteristics and centered the attention on their new common characteristic, that of being "westerners." "The typical westerner had to come west."<sup>3</sup>

While the settlement was still in process it was already noticeable that the nationalities of the settlers had played a part in their choice of locations. When historical investigation began, it was found that there were Scandinavian, German, Irish settlements, which, though their initial experiences in all likelihood had been very similar, now exhibited different traits based on different national characteristics which during the gradual conquest of the frontier had not seemed significant. With the rise of the concept of the "frontier" as the most significant factor in the economic and social history of nineteenth-century America, the interest was mainly centered on the problem of what a shifting frontier meant for the people. The problem whether pioneers of different national and cultural background perhaps reacted differently to the changing frontier has rarely been touched. For a state like Minnesota with a large foreign pioneer element it should be interesting to know whether, for instance, Germans and Scandinavians exhibited the same characteristics in their selection of land and in their participation in the great western movement. The first consideration arising from a viewpoint which emphasizes the men on the frontier rather than the frontier itself is that of the distribution of the settlers. In other words: did the pioneers of different nationalities actually settle directly on the frontier and did they move west with it? It would, of

<sup>3</sup> John D. Hicks, "The political career of Ignatius Donnelly," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 13: 80.

course, be impossible to follow the route of the individual settler family which may have moved west several times. But our interest is not so much in the fate of individual families as in the traits exhibited by the settlers of the same nationality group. In colonial times, for instance, the Palatinates settled in the interior of Pennsylvania, close to the Indian frontier; but although many a German travelled far into Indian country, as a group they were less adventurous in conquering new territory than were the Scotch-Irish.<sup>4</sup> It has also been indicated that a connection exists between the Pennsylvania Germans and the type of soils which they selected for their settlements.<sup>5</sup> Whether their location on good soils was the cause or the result of the generally acknowledged superior German farming is a question that might be argued.

While we know of the present nationality distribution in the State of Minnesota we can not be sure that the distribution at the early period of settlement was the same as it is now. The settlement during the years from 1860 to 1870 was rapid enough to spread into new counties. But these counties were very unevenly occupied by pioneers. If we want to ascertain the distribution of different nationality groups at the beginning and at the end of the decade under consideration the county is too large a unit. The township is the maximum practical unit on which to base conclusions concerning the factors which influenced the settlement by different groups. It would be desirable if the data were available to use units even smaller than a township for in many a case the townships show a very noticeable division of groups as can be detected from the names on the plat maps of Farmers' Directories which were published for almost every county in Minnesota at a later date. Two sources can be consulted for population statistics: 1) The published United States Census Population Statistics of the eighth and ninth census with data for states and counties. 2) The manuscript census lists where every inhabitant is enumerated under townships, villages, cities and city wards. Therefore, the number of Germans living in the different townships, villages and city wards of Minnesota in the years 1860 and 1870 had to be obtained from the manuscript census records.<sup>6</sup>

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German immigration was far more significant than that of the Norwegians in the early decades. The number of German-born inhabitants in the State of Minnesota was larger than that of any other single non-American nationality group until 1910, when the Swedes with 122,427 for the first time surpassed the Germans with 109,627. The custom of counting Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes together as "Scandinavians" has perhaps led to a certain unawareness of the significance of German immigration to Minnesota. Frederika Bremer's frequently quoted prophecy was made in 1850, but it was not realized until about three decades later. A large second generation of German parentage, born in America, was already present when the Scandinavians began to arrive in great numbers. The racial identity of this second generation has forever been lost in the published census statistics, because it was not until 1910 that the parentage of each American was recorded specifically. Until then we have figures only for "foreign" and "native" parentage.<sup>8</sup> Therefore the data in the published census records do not tell us anything about the specific national and cultural background of the American population before 1910 as far as the second generation is concerned. It is easily understood that this background was more important in the frontier society of 1870 without modern means of communication, education, and civilization than it is now or was in 1910. Therefore in this study the count includes German born persons and their direct offspring, called "German stock," i.e. the first generation of pure German parentage, born on American soil. This generation was also included by Carlton Qualey in his count of the Norwegian population.

Such an inclusion produces a picture of the structure of the population which is truer to life than could have been gained by counting German born persons only. For example: Cottonwood Township in Brown

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County numbered 607 inhabitants in 1870, of which according to the published census 310 were native and 297 were foreign born.<sup>9</sup> Of this total of 607 persons 433 were either born in Germany or of purely German parentage. Seven non-German women had married German men; of these marriages 23 children had been born which must be called "at least half German," since many of the American born women who married German newcomers came from German-American families. Seventeen persons were French or children of such. But—like many immigrants who gave "France" as their country of birth during the decades before 1871 they had purely German names. Their country of origin was most probably Alsace-Lorraine.<sup>10</sup> There were 108 Bohemians or children of such in Cottonwood Township, also with undoubted German names, who lived among the Germans. Many of the younger children in all these non-American families were native born, but frequently they had foreign born brothers and sisters only a little older than they. Therefore of the 607 people in Cottonwood Township in 1870, 589 were of foreign origin. Of them, 433 were purely German, and the rest was probably German speaking. This example was chosen at random and is not exceptional for townships with a large proportion of German stock. Pioneer families were large; they frequently had been in the United States for several years before coming to Minnesota. They often more than doubled their size through "native-born" children before census enumeration. Thus "German stock" was chosen for representation on the maps. Its recognition is easy on account of the arrangement in the census according to families and dwellings.

The years 1860 and 1870 were selected for several reasons. German immigration was heavy during this decade, and the decennial increase in the population was proportionally larger than in any other decade of the history of the State. The small number of Germans in 1850 and 1857—the date of the last territorial census—would not have warranted comparison with the situation at a later date. An interval of more than ten years would perhaps have been desirable from some aspects. For instance, the western frontier as indicated by permanent settlement

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would have moved farther in 1875 or in 1880 than in 1870. The Federal Manuscript Census of 1880 is not available in the Historical Society in St. Paul. The State of Minnesota had a State Census taken every five years after the federal censuses, i.e. in 1865, 1875, and so on. It is remarkable that the Minnesota State Census of 1875 reported the specific parentage,—a discrimination which the Federal Census did not make until in 1910. This additional information particularly about the background of Americans who are married to German born persons would have been welcome. But it would have extended the count of German stock in 1875 to an earlier generation which could not have been represented in the count of 1860. Thus the accompanying maps would not have been comparable. The main consideration which led to the choice of the 1870 census in preference to the 1875 State Census was the following: It can be expected and it is hoped that more detailed studies in the field of immigration history for Middle Western States will be undertaken in the future. Few states however can boast of special state censuses, while all states were covered by the federal censuses which have been preserved in Washington. The year 1870 then would allow a comparison of conditions in different states for the same year of enumeration, while this would have been impossible for 1875. In other words it was desired to make it possible to fit this Minnesota study into a larger Middle Western pattern rather than to make a detached investigation for a specific area.

The selection of the persons to be counted required the greatest consideration. It was assumed at the beginning of this study that the inclusion of Germans born outside the German States proper would complicate this study. No immigrant group in the United States is so difficult to classify as are the Germans, due to the peculiar position of the nation in Europe. It was soon discovered that no preconceived method would produce a truthful picture of the German share in the immigration to Minnesota. While mechanically set rules are necessary for a general computation of census data we must make our own rules adjusting them to the problem under consideration. The difficulties arising from the application of the rules, which were set up at first, were discovered while the count was already in progress. On the basis of experience a final method was evolved which made it necessary to count several counties over for a second time. This final method is not necessarily the one best adapted to similar counts for other states at other periods. But the difficulties encountered are informative and typical justifying their explicit discussion.



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The items originally to be counted were: 1) The number of German families, that is of German family heads, counting the father as family head. This eliminates as German those families where only the mother, but not the father was born in Germany. 2) The number of persons who gave Germany as their birthplace.<sup>11</sup> 3) The offspring of those families. The children born from mixed marriages who were at least half German are not included in the percentages represented on the maps. This implies a considerable understatement. Frequently a grandfather or a grandmother is living with a family of which one parent was born in Germany. The identification often is easy enough, for the names are the same and the profession of these old people is given as "living with son" or "living with daughter," sometimes as "old man," "old lady" or occasionally as "grandfather" and "grandmother." Such a family would still consist of purely German stock, most likely German would be the language of such a family, but to include all these members would extend the count into a third generation which represents a second generation of American-born.<sup>12</sup>

No persons were included whose birthplaces were unidentifiable. This refers to birthplaces that were "unknown," given as "born at sea" or that were undecipherable.

At the same time the ages of the children were excerpted, noting that of the last child born in Germany, of all the children born in different states and of the first child born in Minnesota. For future studies it will be valuable to know the time *post quem* and *ante quo* during which the family emigrated from Europe. The states in which children were born make it possible to determine the route which the German immigrants took. A system of abbreviations was developed for the countries of origin and the professions of the family heads. A continuous vertical line indicated that no non-German is listed among the families marked by this line. Since it can be assumed that the

<sup>11</sup> The number of persons married to Germans but not born in German countries was counted separately and not included in the percentages on the map. Children born of such marriages were also counted separately.

<sup>12</sup> For example: The family Doll in Rush Lake Township, Ottertail County in 1870 was enumerated as follows: Father and mother, 60 and 51 years old, born in Baden. One son, 31 years old, born in Ohio, married to a Badensian, had two children born in Minnesota. One son, born in Ohio, married to a woman from Ohio, had also two children born in Minnesota. The third son, born in Ohio also married a woman born in Ohio. A fourth son, born in Ohio, was unmarried. A fifth son, born in Ohio had joined the Order of the "Precious Blood Brothers," and a daughter, born in Ohio, had joined the Order of the "Precious Blood Sisters." These are fifteen persons of German origin who appear in the count as one German family, three German born, one non-German intermarried, two half German children: 1-3(1)-3(2).

census taker went from house to house or farmstead to farmstead these families represent purely German districts. A random sample of a page from the manuscript lists of the author is reproduced below.

Carver County 1860			Town of Waconia		
1	2	2	2 Pr		mi
1	2	2	1 Pr + 1 Ba		mc
1	4	4	4 Pr <sup>15</sup>		F
1	6	7	6 Pr <sup>2</sup> 1 M <sup>4/12</sup>		F
1	1 <sub>1</sub>	1 <sub>1</sub>	1 W + 1 Pa 1 M <sup>1</sup>		surveyor
	1	1	1 Sw		servant
	1	1	1 A		F
	1	1	1 Ba		Fl
1	3	4	1 Ha + 1 Bd 1 Bd <sup>3</sup> 1 M <sup>1</sup>		F
1	6	6	6 Ha <sup>12</sup>		F
1	2	2	2 Ha		F
	1	1	1 Bd		F
1	2	4	2 Bd 1 Wisc <sup>2</sup> 1 M <sup>1</sup>		F
1	3	6	3 Sw <sup>9</sup> 1 Ill <sup>4</sup> 2 M <sup>3, 4/12</sup>		F
1	2	4	2 Pr 2 M <sup>2, 6/12</sup>		F
1	2	4	2 W 2 Pa <sup>20, 14</sup>		F
1	1 <sub>1</sub>	1	1 Ha + 1 Holland		F
1	1 <sub>1</sub>	1 <sub>4</sub>	1 Pr + 1 Fr 1 Ill <sup>6</sup> 3 M <sup>4-2/12</sup>		F
	1	1	1 Bd		F
1	9	9	9 HD <sup>12</sup>		F
1	2	3	1 Ba + 1 Ha 1 Mld <sup>17</sup>		F
1	2	3	2 Ba 1 M <sup>1</sup>		F
1	2	5	2 Pr 3 M <sup>2, 1, 1</sup>		F
	1	1	1 Pr		F
1	2	8	2 W 5 Wisc <sup>10-4</sup> 1 M <sup>2</sup>		F
1	2	3	1 Bd + 1 W 1 M <sup>1</sup>		F
1	2	5	1 A + 1 Sw 3 M <sup>2-5/12</sup>		F
1	2	3	2 Sw 1 M <sup>6/12</sup>		F
1	2	4	2 W 1 Pa <sup>9</sup> 1 M <sup>1</sup>		F
1	2	5	2 Pr 2 NY <sup>5, 3</sup> 1 M <sup>1</sup>		F
1	5	5	5 Pr <sup>7</sup>		F
25	75 <sub>3</sub>	107 <sub>3</sub>	25 Families. 75 German born. 107 German stock.		

Continuous in census list

Explanations: Pr = Prussia, Ba = Bavaria, M = Minnesota, W = Württemberg, Pa = Pennsylvania, Sw = Switzerland, A = Austria, Ha = Hannoveria, Bd = Baden, HD = Hessen Darmstadt, Fr = France. mi = miller mc = merchant, F = farmer, Fl = Farmlaborer or farmhand.

For example, line 9 reads as follows: husband from Hannover married to wife from Baden; one child, 3 years old, born in Baden; one child, one year old, born in Minnesota. Farmer.

Line 7 from bottom: husband and wife from Württemberg; five children born in Wisconsin between 10 and 4 years old; one child born in Minnesota, 2 years old.

The original system should have eliminated uncertainty—if the German immigrants themselves would have been certain about their country of origin. But they were not. The study of the censuses of



1860 and 1870 illustrates clearly that the United States received a large German immigration coming from outside Germany proper. They were German speaking people, bore German names and constituted an element which for many questions of Americanization, such as intermarriage, language, church membership, support of parochial schools, and subscription of German newspapers would have to be considered as "German-American." German settlers gave as their birthplace small villages like "Briese" or "Ellwang" adding "Germany" occasionally, towns like Erfurt or Berlin, but also such ambiguities as "Belgium, Germany," "Holland, Germany," "Prague, Germany." The latter were not included.<sup>13</sup> We cannot help feeling pity for the census taker of 1860 and 1870 who had to understand and write down the many different German names he heard. In many cases Germany was named as the country of birth, but in the great majority the Germans named the specific German state or town from which they came. Thus we find that a Bavarian might have come from Bavaria, Bayern, Biron, Bion, Bien, Baen, Bevaria, Byron—according to the orthography found in the census. Mecklemburg, Württemberg, Lüneburg and others also provided many difficulties. All the Prussians who lived in the first ward of St. Anthony in 1860 came from "Prison, Germany," an origin that can be understood if it is recalled that Prussians who lived in the neighbourhood of Saxonia commonly pronounce "Preussen" as "Preisen" the unfortunate Anglicism of which would indeed be "Prison."

Every estimation of people with German blood in the United States has to solve the problem of how to treat Austrians, Swiss, Luxemburgians and people of German origin coming from Poland, Russia, France, and Hungary.<sup>14</sup> The most recent publication about the population of the State of Minnesota divides the immigrant population of the State into six groups: British, Scandinavian, German, Romanic, Slavic, and All Others.<sup>15</sup> "The German groups include the German States proper, Holland, Switzerland, and after the World War Austria. Various minor sources of immigration are listed under the heading "All

<sup>13</sup> In Mayville Township, Houston County, in 1860 57 people were of German parentage or German born. 124 persons were born in "Holland, Germany" or were children of such persons. Their names are German, several intermarriages are to be noted. The percentage on the map represents the German stock only.

<sup>14</sup> The various procedures used cannot be discussed here. See Albert Bernhard Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, New York 1927, vl. 2, p. 5 ff. and Appendix p. 636 ff.—Emil Mannhardt, "Deutsches Blut in den Vereinigten Staaten und in Illinois im neunzehnten Jahrhundert," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, July 1903, p. 12 ff.—Joseph Och, *Der Deutschamerikanische Farmer*, Columbus, Ohio, 1913.

<sup>15</sup> R. W. Murchie and M. E. Jarchow, quoted before, p. 24.



Others." The desire to base our selection on cultural and linguistic rather than on racial backgrounds led to the exclusion of Hollanders in our count. In intermarriage with Germans they appear as "non-Germans." The difficulty with intermarriages between Germans, and Hollanders, Austrians, Luxemburgians, Alsatians, and Swiss consists however in the fact that they could take place in Europe and that older children from such marriages were born in one of the German states while younger children were born in America.<sup>16</sup> Therefore the older children would be "German-born" while the younger children would not even be counted as German stock since they are born of mixed marriages. Sometimes the age of the mother and that of the children indicate that the latter could have been born from a former marriage of the father in Germany. But this is not always the case. In a case like the following: a man from Holland, married to a Prussian woman, had two children born in Prussia, and two born in Minnesota, only one person was counted as German because Hollanders were classified as non-German. The same procedure was taken in the few similar cases of marriages between Belgians and Germans. But it soon was evident that the omission of German Swiss, German Austrians and Luxemburgians would lead to an understatement of such degree that this study could no longer be expected to serve as a working basis for problems of Americanization as they were indicated above.<sup>17</sup>

The intermarriages are extraordinarily frequent. Of nine Swiss, Luxemburgians and Austrians in Hollywood Township, Carver County, in 1870, seven had married German born persons and twenty-five children had been born out of these marriages.<sup>18</sup> Of altogether twenty-five Swiss, Austrians, and Luxemburgians in Chanhassan Township in Carver County in 1870 thirteen had married German born persons and

<sup>16</sup> A few examples from Camden, Waconia, Dahlgreen, and Chaska Townships, Carver County, 1870 may be quoted: One Swiss married to a Prussian woman had one child, born in Prussia of 12 years old and four children born in Minnesota from ten to one years old. One French, named "Iltis," married to a woman from Mecklenburg, had three children, born in Prussia, sixteen to three years old. One Swiss, married to a Bavarian woman, had one child born in Bavaria of 15 years, five children born in Minnesota of ten to one years old. One Swiss, married to a Prussian woman, had one child born in Prussia, twenty years old, one child born in Switzerland, seventeen years old, and seven children born in Minnesota, seven years and younger.

<sup>17</sup> Every immigrant has been specifically identified in the manuscript lists of the author so that it will always be possible to separate Swiss, Austrians, and Luxemburgians, if necessary. It was technically impossible to single them out in the percentages on the maps.

<sup>18</sup> The other two had married Hungarians with German names and had together eleven children. No Hungarians, Russians, or Poles although their names are often German and although they lived among Germans have been included. The two families mentioned appear therefore as two families, two German born persons, and two persons of German stock: 2-2(2)-2(11).

had together thirty-seven children. To exclude these families with twenty-five and thirty-seven children who lived with German speaking parents and in almost purely German settlements appeared unjustified.

We also have to take into consideration that the Swiss, Luxemburgians, and Austrians who came to Minnesota were mostly rural people and looked for rural life and occupation more than the German immigrants did. Their percentage therefore is higher in the country than in the cities. On account of their frequent intermarriage with persons born in the German States proper the rate of intermarriage for the German population as a whole would become much higher in rural districts than in the cities, if we exclude these German speaking persons born outside the German States proper. We would find a disproportionally large number of "at least half German" children in the rural districts.

The high percentage of intermarriage between certain German groups and Swiss, Luxemburgians, and Austrians is easily explained. A Bavarian and Austrian, both of Catholic confession and with closely related dialects are more likely to intermarry than a Catholic Southern German and a Protestant Northern German. The affinity between Bavarians and Swiss also is great. The number of families where the father or both parents were born in "France" but whose names were purely German and who christened their children with distinctly German names was great enough to justify special consideration. They invariably lived as isolated families in German settlements and never appear in groups in contrast to the French Canadians in Minnesota. Thus these people who in all probability were Alsatians were included in the count of German stock. Swiss and Luxemburgians of French names were excluded. An additional hint to the cultural background of a family and to their language is often found in the presence of a German born farm laborer or domestic help or German born grandparents. The probability was always so great that elimination or inclusion could proceed without hesitancy.

If the Swiss and Luxemburgians with German names and the Austrians were included when they were married to German-born persons, the non-married adults could not be excluded. German immigration to Minnesota was like Scandinavian immigration overwhelmingly family immigration. The circumstance that a young man or a young girl left the farm of the father and worked—perhaps only temporarily just at the time of the census—on a place nearby does not change the

fact that they came over with their families and were still members of them.<sup>19</sup>

Thus stock was counted as German when the parents were born in the German states proper, in Switzerland, Luxemburg, and France—when of distinctly German names—and in Austria. French Swiss and French Luxemburgians were omitted, so were all other persons of German names, coming from Poland, Hungary, Russia, etc., even if they lived in purely German communities.

A different procedure would have been advisable for another period, for instance for the year 1880 after Minnesota had received a share of the German Mennonite immigration from Russia to this country. This group preserved its distinct culture and the German language up to the present. The Germans from Siebenbuerger and Hungary also preserved their national characteristics and support their own weekly paper in German until to-day. If their number would have been significant they should have been included. However, in 1860 and in 1870 persons with German names from eastern or southeastern European countries were so rarely found that their inclusion would have complicated the technique of the count without having the slightest significance for the result.

It also was decided to omit all Bohemians. There were only five counties where the number of persons born in Bohemia exceeded one hundred in 1870: Rice, Scott, Steele, Brown, and Ramsey. Their given names and surnames are either Czech or German. But to distinguish between names of Slavic and German origin is much harder than between French and German names. It appears however that Bohemians of Czech origin settled in consolidated groups, for example in Wheatland Township in Rice County.<sup>20</sup> The names of families from Bohemia who lived scattered among German families were mostly German. Inter-marriages between Germans from Sudetenland and from neighbouring German provinces were as common then as they are at present. However, unlike the Swiss and Luxemburgians and Austrians, the Bohemian cultural background remains distinct and is evidenced by the existence of Moravian churches and a Bohemian press. A partial

<sup>19</sup> The family from which a young farmlaborer or a young girl serving as domestic help came is frequently found listed on the same page or shortly before or after the enumeration of the inhabitants of the dwelling where they lived.

<sup>20</sup> The names of the Bohemians in Brown County in 1870 were either German or at least doubtful. If we add the Bohemian stock of German names to the German stock in Brown County, the percentages in Eden, Bashaw, and Sigel Townships would have been higher. The concentration of Germans in the region of New Ulm would have been greater and would have had to be shown by a heavier degree of shading.

inclusion of Bohemians would have involved the risk of possible overstatement; again the understatement was preferred.

There are several methods by which the distribution of a population group can be represented cartographically if the data relate to small units.<sup>21</sup> One is the dot method which was used by Carlton Qualey for the representation of the Norwegian pioneer stock in Minnesota in 1875. One dot represents 100 Norwegians or the major fraction thereof. Thus an attempt is made to give absolute information. Theoretically one should be able to obtain the number of Norwegian persons by adding the dots. However, a dot can stand for any number of persons from 51 to 149. Thus, while no relation to the total population or a subdivision thereof is represented, even the absolute information is not sufficiently precise.

The recognition that facts in isolation have little meaning in themselves makes it desirable that data such as were obtained by our count are made functional. Therefore a map showing proportional distribution was desired. Proportions on maps can be shown only by areas of different shades unless we resort to cartograms. The isoplethic method was rejected after a trial. Maps constructed by this method show the region of densest distribution—let us say of a distribution from 75 to 100 per cent—as the centre around which belts of decreasing percentages are arranged. Lines joining the points representing equal density (= isos plethos, Gr. equal fulness) mark the boundaries of the regions. This method is excellent for representing phenomena which are related to natural regions as wheat production, for instance. The method is likely to produce a result less mechanical than the picture obtained by following the artificial boundaries of counties and townships because the distribution will depend upon geographic features, such as climate, good soils, etc. For a representation of population data at a time when settlement is more mature the isoplethic method has much to recommend itself: Roads, schools, churches which played a part in attracting settlers to special districts are at a later date more generally distributed over a state; the significance of geographical factors is less obstructed by accidental social factors. But for the years 1860 and 1870 it was found impossible to determine any centres of German population with more or less evenly ebbing belts around those centres. Settlement at

<sup>21</sup> If the number of inhabitants for large areas or their concentration in cities is to be shown, circles can be used, the size of which depend on the number of persons concentrated in certain areas, or spheres. These are drawn in a manner to make them appear plastic. The drawback of both techniques is that the human eye is not good in discerning between the sizes of circles, less good in discerning the volume of spheres drawn on paper.



that time was dictated partly by factors, accidental and ungeographical which distort a picture based on a geographical concept of the distribution problem. Such a factor is for instance the elimination of townships which would have been desirable as far as location, soil, water, and timber were concerned but which could not be selected on account of these townships belonging to Indian reservations. An example is Blue Earth County where the settlers in 1856 "gazed with longing eyes upon the beautiful country in Rapidan and Lyra Township."<sup>22</sup> But the settlers had to move on because this land was still an Indian reservation. At the time of the 1860 census Lyra—then Thekumseh—and Rapidan—then called de Soto—are returned without any population. The blanks which are thus created cannot be explained by any natural phenomenon. Possible lines combining areas of equal proportion are interrupted making them altogether impracticable.

Thus, it was decided to represent the proportion of German population for each township by shaded areas. That this unit is serviceable is best shown by the fact that the artificial county boundaries are done away with on the finished maps, a result that was not obtained by the use of the dot method on Carlton Qualey's maps, where, for instance, the line between Houston and Fillmore is still clearly visible. To appreciate the role played by different nationality groups in the conquest of the west it is more valuable to know how large the German element was in comparison to the total population than to know the actual number of German settlers in a township. For example, it is more significant that in 1870 the German stock represented 3.1 per cent of the total population in St. Olaf Township in Ottertail County than that thirteen persons of German blood lived in that township. The absolute number of 105 persons of German blood in Rush Lake Township in the same county in 1870 may not seem impressive. But they constituted 62.8 per cent of the total of 167 persons and thus bore the main share of the task with which life confronted the frontier settlers at one of the far northwestern outposts in Minnesota.

The representation of the percentage of German as compared to the total population makes it impossible to include the city population. The difference between the German proportions in the wards of the cities is great. If the scale on the map is too small to allow sufficient space to make the shading clear for the area occupied by a town, it is all the more impossible to bring out the different shades for different wards in cities. It is not justifiable to nullify the difference in the

<sup>22</sup> Thomas Hughes, *History of Blue Earth County*, Chicago 1909, p. 71.



aggregate of Germans in different wards of the cities while this differentiation has been demonstrated for the townships. Moreover in many aspects urban population presents problems different from those of rural population.<sup>23</sup>

For the map of 1860 a contemporary map, published in St. Paul on the first of June in 1860 was used as a basis. A modern outline map was used for the map of 1870. With a few exceptions—Redwood County for instance—the county boundaries for the settled areas were the same then as they are now. The names of the townships have sometimes changed two or three times.<sup>24</sup> Several townships in Stearns and Sibley Counties could be identified only by the following procedure: Since they were not yet organized in 1870 but were separately listed in 1875, the neighbouring townships in 1875 were searched for the families which were listed under the township in question in 1870. If five to seven families were found it was assumed that the unorganized township was affiliated with the neighbouring township in 1870, and the same percentage was applied to both townships.<sup>25</sup> It is regrettable that the census of 1860 has no township divisions for Stearns County which is of

<sup>23</sup> Frequently the percentage of the German population of a city corresponds to the percentage of the German population in the township where the city is located. For example: Rochester Township: 12.1 per cent; Cascade Township: 16.5 per cent; Rochester: 9.7 per cent; Owatonna Township: 14.3 per cent; Owatonna: 13.4 per cent; St. Charles Township: 5.7 per cent; St. Charles Village: 9.3 per cent. The population of New Ulm, Brown County, and of Hastings, Dakota County, was not enumerated separately from the townships in which the cities were located. The percentage of the German population in the cities therefore was accepted as the same for the fragment townships. In Mankato City the percentages ranged from 6.5 per cent to 44 per cent in different wards while the German proportion in Mankato Townships constituted 43 per cent. St. Cloud had a German population of only 34.3 per cent while that of St. Cloud Township was 76.6 per cent. Here again the percentages range from 4.1 to 55.6 in different wards. Winona City presents a peculiar problem. Approximately 118 families, comprising 383 persons, born outside America, and 498 persons, when their offspring is included, were Prussian if we accept their record in the census. But all their names are doubtlessly Polish, all family heads without a single exception were "laborers" and not a single one reported any real or personal property. It is the most conspicuous group settlement of any city to be noticed in the census of Minnesota in 1870. This Polish group could not be included. (See also Franklyn Curtiss-Wedge, *The History of Winona County, Minnesota*. Chicago 1913. 2 vls., VI. II, p. 1098.) The percentage for Winona City corresponds to that of Winona Township where the German constituted 29.5 per cent of the total, when the Polish group is omitted. The percentage in the following cities or villages is not represented: 1860: Minneapolis, St. Anthony, St. Paul, Winona, Red Wing City. 1870: Mankato, Red Wing, Minneapolis, St. Paul, St. Antony, Duluth, Rochester, Owatonna, St. Charles, Winona, St. Cloud, Preston, Rushford.

<sup>24</sup> Warren Upham's *Minnesota Geographical Names*, St. Paul 1920, and the "Tables" of the *Ninth Census Statistics of Population*, Washington 1872 have been of great help in the identification of townships.

<sup>25</sup> This was the procedure for Farming, Holding Collegeville, Krain, Millwood, Ashley Townships in Stearns County 1870, and for Bismarck Township, Sibley County, in 1870.

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great interest for the history of the German immigration to Minnesota.<sup>26</sup> The percentage of the German stock from the total in all Stearns County is 59.26 and was applied to the districts around the postoffices. All townships that were enumerated in the census were outlined on the maps so as to give an idea of the expansion of permanent settlement along the frontier district and the location of the German population with reference to the frontier. The five shadings represent percentages from 1 to 19.9, from 20 to 39.9, from 40 to 59.9, from 60 to 79.9 and from 80 to 100.

The highest percentages found were 96.7 in Pierz Township, Morrison County, 95.7 in Courtland Township, Nicollet County, 90.5 in Lake Henry Township, Stearns County, all in 1870. Milford Township and New Ulm Township in Brown County had a German population of 90.3 and 91.8 per cent in 1860. These high percentages are found in the districts of German concentration with the exception of Pierz Township which was an outpost. German stock in Minnesota represented 15.8 per cent of the total population in 1860. If the 906 "at least half German children" are added to the total of 27,309 persons of German blood the percentage rises to 16.4 per cent. In 1870, 79,345 persons were of German stock, representing 18.04 per cent of the total. The addition of the "at least half German children" would bring the percentage to 19.5. Taking into consideration that the method of counting German stock implied several understatements, it is no exaggeration to say that every fifth person in the pioneer state of 1870 was German or of German background.

Several results are obtained from a comparison of the two maps.

1) The German population in Minnesota is found to have settled preferably in the area between the bend of the Minnesota River and the Mississippi River. The counties with the heaviest proportion of German population in 1870 were already recognizable in 1860: They were Brown, Nicollet, Sibley, Carver, Stearns.

2) The counties with heavy German proportions were not the counties of densest total population in Minnesota. Brown, Sibley, Stearns Counties show a density of 5 to 15 persons per square mile in 1870, the density in Nicollet County was 15 to 25 persons, in Carver 25 to 45 persons.<sup>27</sup> The density in the southeastern counties—Scott, Dakota,

<sup>26</sup> Of the fifteen post offices under which the inhabitants were listed thirteen could be identified with the help of the United States Post Office Guide and contemporary maps. The remaining two probably were temporary stage coach stops.

<sup>27</sup> A map of the density of the population in Minnesota in 1870 is found in R. W. Murchie and M. E. Jarchow, *cited above*, p. 10.

Rice, Goodhue, Wabasha, Olmsted, Winona, Fillmore, Houston—was 25 to 45 persons per square mile in 1870. In these same counties no township had a percentage of over 80 for the German population, four townships show a percentage of between 60 and 80, eleven show a percentage between 40 and 60, and twenty-five one of between 20 and 40. The general impression is that of a percentage of between one and 20 per cent in the southeastern part of the State. The two counties of Hennepin and Ramsey with a density of over 45 persons per square mile in 1870 represent a special situation on account of the two great cities located in their county boundaries. The six counties—Nicollet, Le Sueur, Blue Earth, Waseca, Steele, Dodge—with a density of 15 to 25 persons per square mile show one township with a percentage of over 80, one with a percentage of between 60 and 80, eight with a percentage of between 40 and 60, and fifteen townships with a percentage of between 20 and 40. The six counties—Brown, Sibley, McLeod, Wright, Meeker, Stearns—with a density of only 5 to 15 persons per square mile had thirteen townships of over 80 per cent Germans, seventeen with a German percentage of between 60 and 80, eight with a percentage of between 40 and 60, and twenty-two with a percentage of between 20 and 40. The Germans therefore are found in the counties of thinner settlement. The proportion of the German population rises with the decrease of the density of the total population.

3) The areas of densest German population in 1870 are the same that had had the heaviest German proportion in 1860. It can be said, therefore, that the Germans showed no tendency to provide the same large share of settlers for the westernmost counties—Redwood, Renville, Kandiyohi, Pope, Douglas, Ottertail—in 1870, which they had supplied in 1860 for the counties Brown, Nicollet, Sibley, McLeod, Meeker, and Stearns which then represented the frontier toward the west. The Germans did not move with the frontier toward the districts of thinnest settlement but they attracted the newcomers of their own nationality to the counties which—though still thinly settled in 1870—were protected by a belt of counties where the density was only 2 to 5 persons per square mile: Jackson, Renville, Monongalia, Kandiyohi, Pope, Todd. The density in Douglas was higher—5 to 15 persons per square mile. The great factor in attracting Germans to the districts of their greatest percentages during the decade under consideration therefore appears to have been that of national cohesion.

4) The German settlers show a tendency to flock together in almost

insular settlements. There is no gradual ebbing of their proportional distribution around districts where they constituted the great majority of the population. In 1860, La Fayette Township in Nicollet County with 88.3 per cent and Milford and New Ulm Townships in Brown County—all with a percentage of over 80, bordered on townships which were returned with no German population at all or which were as yet unsettled. Hampton Township in Dakota County in 1860 with a German proportion of 65.4 per cent was surrounded by Randolph Township without any German, Vermillion Township with 6.3 per cent Germans, Douglas Township with 13.9 per cent, and Castle Rock Township with 2 per cent Germans. Princeton Township in Mille Lacs County was an outpost in 1860; thirty-one Germans represented 42.4 per cent of the total population. This outpost had not received any German influx by 1870; the thirty-four Germans then represented only 5.1 per cent of all the inhabitants. While the unique character and the absolute and proportional number of the German settlers in New Ulm and Milford, directly on the frontier in 1860 proved strong enough not only to preserve but to strengthen the German character of this district, the small German outpost in Princeton in 1860 had become insignificant by 1870. Of the settlement in Nobles County in 1860 nothing is known beyond the record found in the census.<sup>28</sup> Fourteen of the thirty-five persons settling in the wilderness of the frontier were Bavarians; the settlement seems to have completely disappeared.

By 1870, two more outposts had been founded: Pierz Township in Morrison County, and Rush Lake Township in Ottertail County. Pierz was in reality entirely German;<sup>29</sup> it was a Catholic community. So was Rush Lake in Ottertail County.<sup>30</sup> These two townships and the whole of Stearns County in 1860 and in 1870 show the significance of Catholic group settlements for the conquest of the frontier. Father Pierz' influence for the settlement of Minnesota as far as the Germans are concerned is impressively illustrated by the maps. The intensive study of the different factors causing and conditioning the distribution

<sup>28</sup> Arthur Rose, *History of Nobles County, Worthington, Minnesota*, 1908, p. 40.

<sup>29</sup> Of the 151 inhabitants, 146 were purely German, one New Yorker of German name had married a German woman and had two children; one girl born in Poland, was servant in a German family, a family named Wurer, from Hungary, consisted of three persons, bringing the total to 151.

<sup>30</sup> Aside from Germans, only families from Ohio, all of distinctly German names and a Pennsylvania-German family had settled in Rush Lake Township. The convents of the "Precious Blood Brothers" and the "Precious Blood Sisters" consisted of Germans and native Americans, almost all of German names.

of German population in Minnesota in detail cannot be included in the scope of this paper. The purpose of this study was to detect the distribution at the early date which is different from the distribution of Germans in recent decades.<sup>31</sup> The influx of Germans to the southeastern districts of Minnesota represents a second stage in the part which German immigration played for the settlement of this State.

<sup>31</sup> Maps showing the distribution of different nationalities in Minnesota for 1930 are found in R. W. Murchie and M. E. Jarchow, *cited above*, pp. 35-38.

# The Unincorporated Hamlet: An Analysis of Data Sources

By Glenn T. Trewartha\*

## ABSTRACT

The few studies of American hamlets now in existence have been primarily concerned with the survival of these tiny agglomerations—have good roads and automobiles caused them to be superfluous? In all of these studies Dun and Bradstreet's reference books of commercial ratings have been the principal data source. In some, Rand McNally's and Cram's atlases provided supplementary data. For 12 counties in southwestern Wisconsin, where I am making a field study of hamlets, counts of these settlements were made from the three sources noted above for 13 irregularly spaced years beginning in 1882 and terminating in 1940. The discrepancies between the three sources is striking. Recent counts by these same sources were compared with data collected in the field during the spring of 1940. The results are such as to raise serious doubts whether the published sources are sufficiently reliable in their hamlet counts to permit the data to be used in decade to decade comparisons of hamlet numbers.

In its broader pattern the fabric of American settlement comprises the following elements: scattered, isolated one-family farmsteads and similarly dispersed, but many fewer, non-farm rural residences, together with a series of agglomerated urban units which in ascending order of centripetal power are: hamlet, village, town, and city. Of the nucleated elements the unincorporated hamlet represents the first hint of thickening in the settlement plasm. It is neither purely rural nor purely urban, but neuter in gender, a sexless creation midway between the more determinate town and country. Probably in part because of its amorphous character it has received so little direct attention from students of settlements, and this in spite of its ubiquitous nature.

Within the past decade or so a relatively few writers,<sup>1</sup> mainly sociolo-

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<sup>1</sup> Paul H. Landis, *The Growth and Decline of South Dakota Trade Centers, 1901-1933*. South Dakota State AESB 279 (Brookings, 1933).—*Washington Farm Trade Centers, 1900-1935*. Washington State AESB 360 (Pullman, 1938).—*The Number of Unincorporated Places in the United States and Their Estimated Populations*. Research Studies of the State College of Washington, Vol. VI, No. 4 (Pullman, Dec., 1938).

C. E. Lively, *Growth and Decline of Farm Trade Centers in Minnesota, 1903-1930*. U. of Minn. AESB 287 (St. Paul, 1932).

T. Lynn Smith, *Farm Trade Centers in Louisiana, 1901-1931*. La. State AESB 234 (Baton Rouge, 1933).

Carle C. Zimmerman, *Farm Trade Centers in Minnesota, 1905-1929*. U. of Minn. AESB 269 (St. Paul, 1930).

University of Nebraska, Committee on Business Research, *The Influence of Automobiles and Good Roads on Retail Trade Centers*, Nebraska Studies in Business, No. 18, 1927.



gists, have published settlement studies in which the problem of the survival of the American hamlet has been touched upon. So far as I know, in only one study (Landis, *The Number of Unincorporated Places in the United States*, etc.) has the unincorporated settlement been made the principal focus of attention. In the others it has been treated briefly along with the other types of small agglomerations. In all of the studies, with one exception, Dun and Bradstreet's Reference Book of commercial ratings was the principal source used in determining the change in number of unincorporated places from decade to decade.<sup>2</sup> Data from Rand McNally's and Cram's atlases were made use of by some for comparative purposes. All of the studies employing Dun and Bradstreet as a source arrive at the conclusion that hamlets, at least those having business enterprises, and therefore serving as farm trade centers, are declining in number and in population. Most of the authors have some reservations concerning the accuracy of their source materials and caution the reader against accepting them as 100 per cent correct. On the other hand they appear to be of the opinion that the data are reasonably correct for the use to which they have been put.

One gathers from these studies that the indicated decline in number of hamlets in particular states and in the nation at large during the past two or three decades, as shown by Dun and Bradstreet, is chiefly the result of the great expansion in improved highways and in the number of automobiles that began during the second decade of the present century. As a result of these developments the farmer has been emancipated from his considerable dependence on very small local trade centers such as hamlets, while more and more the social and economic life of a rural area has been focused upon larger village settlements offering a greater variety of goods and services. Somewhat contemporaneous with the program of good road development and having, according to these authors, the same injurious effects upon hamlet survival, was the rapid expansion of rural free delivery mail routes after 1900, and the inauguration of the parcel post system after 1913. These combined developments had the effect of destroying thousands of fourth-class post offices which were a major pillar of support for hamlets.

In a field study that I am making of hamlets in the rough lands of southwestern Wisconsin, one of the problems posed for solution is: are these small unincorporated settlements actually on the wane? As one method for testing the evidence, pro and con, I have collected data

<sup>2</sup> Until 1933, when the two companies were merged, the source was designated, *Bradstreet Book of Commercial Ratings*.

on the number of hamlets in this region from four sources: (1) Dun and Bradstreet's Reference Books, (2) Rand McNally's atlases, (3) Cram's atlases, and (4) field maps of the individual hamlets which I constructed from personal observation during the spring of 1940. In the three published sources I differentiated between, (1) those bona fide hamlets whose populations were given as between 20 and 150 inclusive, and (2) a considerably larger group, which in addition to those just defined, includes all others with populations below 20, and also those merely listed but with no population data given. It is this latter more inclusive, but also more dubious, count that is used by all of the writers dealing with unincorporated places. In it are included many place names designating such features as a railroad junction, a church, school, general store, or cheese factory, which subsequent field observation proved were in no sense genuine settlement units.

Before making a comparison of the data on hamlets from the four sources it should be pointed out that the three published sources differ somewhat in their criteria relative to what unincorporated places should be included. The two atlas companies named above have only the loosest kinds of rules for determining inclusion at present, and they are not aware as to what, if any, different rules have been applied in the past. Dun and Bradstreet's criteria are at present more specific, but according to their own admission the rules have changed from time to time.<sup>3</sup> Their Reference Books supposedly list all of those places that have one or more mercantile enterprises, whether or not they have resident populations. Emphasis is upon the location of a business rather than upon the validity of a place as a bona fide settlement. Thus a single general store at a crossroads, if the location has a place name, may be listed even though no population figure is given. On the other hand it is not unusual for a business enterprise in a hamlet with no post-office to be listed by Dun and Bradstreet under the name of an adjacent settlement from which it receives mail by rural free delivery. Consistency is not conspicuous. This may account in part for the considerable number of hamlets with business enterprises, actually located in the field, which were not listed in the Reference Books. Small population groups clustered about a church, school, or townhall-nucleus and without a business establishment would not be included. Prior to July, 1918, the Reference Books also included postoffices where no business establishment existed. This practice was discontinued after 1918. Rand McNally admits of having no established rules for deter-

<sup>3</sup> Landis, *Research Studies*, Vol. VI, No. 4, p. 161.

mining what unincorporated places shall be included in their atlas lists. According to a personal communication from one of their staff, they "... try to include all places in existence which have a name." Population size has nothing to do with the decision, although they consider it important as descriptive data. Ignorance was professed as to what processes had been employed in the past for determining the place names to be included. Cram has much the same type of loose rules for compiling its roster of unincorporated hamlets.<sup>4</sup>

In my opinion neither of the three published sources named above presents a true picture of the number of existing hamlets, for those relatively inconspicuous settlements are neither cross-roads stores or railroad junctions, nor are they local names applied to neighborhood areas whose centers are a church, school, or town hall. Lacking in definite criteria for determining present-day inclusions of sub-village types of settlements, unaware as to whether the same standards have been applied in the past, or in the case of Dun and Bradstreet, conscious of certain basic changes in the rules, these same three publications appear to be still more unreliable as sources of data for comparing the number of hamlets at successive decade intervals. As a result of an analysis in the field of scores of hamlets I have arrived at a working definition or description of them. Primarily they are agglomerations of people together with their residence and work units. This clustering effect should be sufficiently marked so that the field worker is conscious of a perceptible node in the fabric of rural settlement. Defined quantitatively I propose that there must be a minimum of *four* active residence units, at least two of which are non-farm houses. Thus four farmsteads each located on one corner of a crossroad does not comprise a hamlet. Counting four-and-one-half or five people to a residence this figure of at least four residence units in a hamlet establishes a minimum population of 18 or 20. Supplementary items of the definition stipulate a minimum of *six* active functional units, residential, business, social, or otherwise, and a total of at least five buildings actively used by human beings.<sup>5</sup> These buildings must be spaced in such a way as to give an appearance of compactness exceeding that of ordinary farmstead spacing. In a hamlet

<sup>4</sup> In a personal letter from E. A. Peterson, General Manager of the Cram Company, he states: "So far as the index is concerned we are supposed to show all name places, including ... railroad junctions which frequently consist of no population at all. ... In fact, the index is supposed to be unabridged. That is, we try to take in everything. ..."

"... Our unabridged index is supposed to be made up so that you can locate any place that you look for. This makes it necessary for us to include all names which a town may go by."

<sup>5</sup> In hamlets a building frequently houses more than one functional unit.

composed of the minimum number of buildings, the maximum linear distance between the outermost buildings should not exceed one-quarter mile.

For a number of reasons a population of 150 was adopted as the maximum for hamlets, and therefore the boundary separating them from villages. When settlements reach about this size it was found that there existed a distinct tendency for them to incorporate. Apparently they become conscious of their contrast with the country-side in general, and as a community, desire more services than the county or township in which they are located is willing to provide. It was found, also, that in communities with over 150 inhabitants there was a marked tendency for a distinct business core to develop, a feature that is not conspicuous in most hamlets. The population figure of 150 likewise seems to separate settlements where doctors, dentists, lawyers, and other professional men are nearly completely absent, from those larger ones where they are more common.

#### THE GRAPHIC EVIDENCE

In Fig. I the total number of hamlets in 12 counties in southwestern Wisconsin is plotted for 13 irregularly spaced years, beginning in 1882 and terminating in 1940.<sup>6</sup> The particular years selected for making counts of hamlets is largely the result of conscious choice, although in a measure it reflects the available materials in the several Madison libraries and in the Dun and Bradstreet offices in Milwaukee and Madison. For the years 1905 and 1915 the Dun and Bradstreet figures were obtained from that company's New York office. Seven of the counts of hamlets are from Rand McNally, four from Dun and Bradstreet, and two from Cram. In addition there is a fourteenth count made from maps of the individual hamlets prepared in the field during the spring of 1940. In Fig. I data from each of the four sources have been designated by contrasting symbols so that they can readily be differentiated. In each case the upper of the two line graphs (I) represents the more inclusive, but also more dubious, list of hamlets described earlier in the paper (p. 37), while the lower one (II) includes only those listed by any particular source as having a population between 20 and 150 inclusive.

An outstanding feature of the graph lines is their unusual irregularities. Most frequently these are the result of very different totals of

<sup>6</sup> These counties are: Crawford, Dane (western half), Grant, Green, Iowa, Juneau, La Crosse, La Fayette, Monroe, Richland, Sauk, Vernon. The specific years for which hamlet counts were made are: 1882, 1892, 1905, 1906, 1908, 1914, 1915, 1921, 1928, 1931, 1932, 1938, 1940.

hamlets given by different sources in closely adjacent years. Clearly this indicates not actual changes in number of hamlets within a few years, but rather, discrepancies between the sources. Strangely, the irregularities in Graph II, which is for the selected list of hamlets, are nearly, if not quite, as great as in Graph I. With such irregularities so prominent it is difficult to reach satisfactory conclusions relative to trends in the rise and decline in number of hamlets. A further discon-

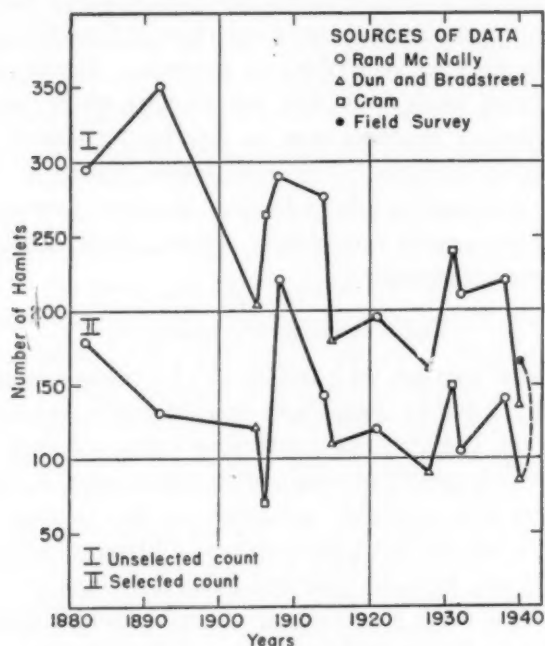


FIGURE I. GRAPHIC REPRESENTATION OF WHAT PURPORTS TO BE THE CHANGES IN THE NUMBER OF UNINCORPORATED HAMLETS IN 12 COUNTIES OF SOUTHWESTERN WISCONSIN OVER A PERIOD OF NEARLY SIX DECADES

The 14 hamlet counts are from four different sources as indicated in the figure. Graph I charts the unabridged counts, and includes all places with fewer than 150 people whether a population figure was given or not. Graph II includes only those places with populations given as between 20 and 150 inclusive.

certing fact is, that even when counts of hamlets from the three published sources are relatively similar, the totals may not be made up of the same list of settlements. Some that one includes are omitted in another and vice versa.

Depending on the various ways in which one analyzes the graphs, his conclusions relative to change in number of hamlets may vary. For example, using Dun and Bradstreet data exclusively Graphs I and II



show a consistent decline in number of hamlets from 1905 to 1940. This coincides with the findings of others who have employed the Dun and Bradstreet source. If these counts could be considered reliable it indicates that the decline in number of hamlets was not coincident with the coming into use of the automobile and the rapid expansion of surfaced highways, but began at least a decade and more earlier. On the other hand, using all *three* published sources, in Graph II the maximum figure from any one source for the decade 1930-1940 is higher than the maximum figure from any one source for the decade 1910-1920. This evidence is contradictory to that derived from Dun and Bradstreet alone.

Using data from Rand McNally exclusively, Graph I shows a decline in number of hamlets from 1892 to 1921, while Graph II shows a decline from 1908 to 1932. Here too, if the decline is a fact and not a matter of source unreliability, the shrinkage in number of hamlets began some time before good roads and automobiles could have had any effect. In both Graphs I and II the Rand McNally count of hamlets is higher in 1938 than in either 1921 or 1931. In other words, good roads and automobiles at the period of their maximum development were having exactly the opposite effect upon hamlets than that with which they are usually credited. This evidence plainly is contradictory to that from Dun and Bradstreet.

The data from Cram are somewhat contradictory in Graphs I and II. The unselected group of hamlets shows a moderate decline in numbers from 1906 to 1931, while the selected group shows a marked increase during the same period.

If one utilizes the 1940 field data for number of hamlets with populations between 20 and 150 inclusive, the figure is higher than the selected count given by any of the published sources since 1892 with the exception of Rand McNally in 1908. The field count is considerably higher than the figure from Dun and Bradstreet even for the unselected hamlets, which seems to indicate incomplete coverage on the part of that source.

The preceding analysis does not purport to answer the question as to whether in southwestern Wisconsin hamlets have declined in numbers during the past two or three decades, or since the rapid expansion in use of automobiles and in modern road building. What it does appear to do is to cast some doubt upon the wisdom of relying for information on any one of the published sources for comparative data on number of hamlets over a period of decades. This is especially true of their lists of unincorporated places in complete and unabridged form. The

discrepancies between the published sources inclines to make one skeptical of all of them as reliable sources of decade-to-decade data on number and population of bona fide hamlets. A further comparison of their figures with those obtained from field observation only tends to increase the skepticism. This in no way discredits the published sources for those uses for which they were intended, but merely points out their inadequacy as data sources on numbers of unincorporated hamlets over a period of decades.

# Does Decentralized Industry Mean Greater Security?

## The Case of Massachusetts

By John Useem\*

### ABSTRACT

One of the crucial questions involved in the decentralization of industry is its effects on the security of rural populations and communities. An examination of an area which has long experienced decentralization, rural Massachusetts, reveals that: 1. rural workers in depressions are adversely effected earlier in the business cycle than urban workers and experience recovery more slowly; 2. rural workers have more intermittent unemployment than urban workers; 3. rural workers have not been able to supplement adequately income from industry with farming or other economic enterprises; 4. by virtue of the greater hazards of income and employment they have a higher rate of dependency than either rural-farm or urban-industrial populations; 5. rural factories have a higher rate of mortality and mobility resulting in the stranding of populations; 6. rural communities encouraging industries to locate experienced new maladjustments.

In spite of this evidence, there are cogent reasons for decentralizing industry. Indications of a national trend in this direction suggests the need for additional protections for rural America.

Does decentralized industry bring greater security to rural people? This question has attracted the attention of many current writers on modern social problems, as well as a number of students of rural life.<sup>1</sup>

That agreement of opinion on this issue is lacking, is clearly evident by a comparison of the conclusions of four recent monographs. Baker, Borsodi, and Wilson in one work<sup>2</sup> and Ligutti and Rawe in another<sup>3</sup> view rural industry as potentially one of the most promising solutions of insecurity; while Woofter and Winston in their summation of the case<sup>4</sup> and Kolb and Brunner in their approach<sup>5</sup> regard it as one of the

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<sup>1</sup> See for example: M. A. Elliott and F. E. Merrill, *Social Disorganization*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1940; Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities*, Harcourt Brace & Co., New York, 1938; Ralph H. Danhof, "Defense and Decentralization," *Land Policy Review*, January, 1941, pp. 3-10; Carl C. Taylor, "Social and Economic Significance of the Subsistence Homesteads Program—From the Viewpoint of the Sociologist," *Journal of Farm Economics*, Vol. 17, 1935, pp. 720-731.

<sup>2</sup> O. E. Baker, Ralph Borsodi, and M. L. Wilson, *Agriculture in Modern Life*, Harper & Brothers, New York; 1939.

<sup>3</sup> L. G. Ligutti and J. C. Rawe, *Rural Roads to Security*, Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee, 1940.

<sup>4</sup> T. J. Woofter, Jr. and Ellen Winston, *Seven Lean Years*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1939.

<sup>5</sup> J. H. Kolb and E. de S. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1940.

major sources of insecurity in rural America. An examination of other studies reveals similar marked divergencies of thought.

In discussions of the advocates of the distribution of industry into rural areas as a security measure, the assumption is often made that there will occur a flexible combination of farm and factory work. It is said that there will be a natural coordination in the productive rhythms of these two modes of living, that the worker will be freed of intermittent and cyclical unemployment, and hence dependency. In theory, when either industry or farming enters a depression, the other would serve as an economic cushion. Then too, the claim is made that rural industries will aid the surrounding farmers by making possible fuller institutional services through having a greater population base to share the costs of improvement and use. And, finally, it is argued that it will mean greater community stability and enhanced security for the individual.

To what extent are these theses valid in Massachusetts, an area which long has been characterized by decentralized industry?

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts has 229 towns<sup>6</sup> with a population of 5,000 or less—which, for the purpose of this study will be defined as rural. The average rural community, slowly but steadily increasing in size, today consists of approximately four hundred families, totaling 1,741 persons. Sixty percent of the employable population are factory workers, thirteen percent are farmers, nine percent have small businesses, eight percent are in professions, five per cent in clerical positions, and the remaining five percent in miscellaneous activities. Only ninety of the 229 rural towns have no industry, being engaged primarily in agriculture, fishing, and providing recreational services to vacationers. The average town with industry has two factories which manufacture textiles, boots and shoes, metal products, or paper, with annual valuation on the average of \$479,955.

Agriculture, measured in terms of money invested and the number of persons employed, is the second largest enterprise in the State, being exceeded only by the manufacture of cotton goods. In 1935, thirty-five thousand farms with sixty-two thousand workers, using farm lands and buildings valued at over two hundred and fifty million dollars, and eighteen million dollars worth of machinery, produced commodities worth more than eighty million dollars and furnished the living for a hundred and sixty-three thousand people.

Let us compare the status of the rural industrial worker with that

<sup>6</sup> Attention is called to the fact that the "town" in Massachusetts includes both the village center and the surrounding farmsteads. It is somewhat analogous to the township of the Mid-West.

of the urban industrial worker in the State of Massachusetts, using the trends of the decade 1927-1937 to exemplify a pattern evidenced throughout the last century.<sup>7</sup> Theoretically, the rural worker is supposed to be more secure against the hazards associated with gaining a living for his family.

Yet, in depressions, rural workers in Massachusetts are adversely affected earlier in the cycle than urban workers and experience recovery more slowly. Table I<sup>8</sup> reveals that during the last decade the average number of industrial workers employed dropped at a faster rate for the rural than for the urban factories and when recovery started, it came later and less completely.

TABLE I

INDEX OF AVERAGE NUMBER EMPLOYED IN RURAL AND URBAN INDUSTRY IN MASSACHUSETTS:  
1927-1937  
1927 = 100\*

YEAR	RURAL	URBAN
1927	100	100
1928	92	94
1929	90	96
1930	74	83
1931	74	75
1932	57	61
1933	55	69
1934	69	73
1935	70	77
1936	72	83
1937	83	86

\* For the base year, 1927, the average number employed was 40,261 in the factories located in rural communities; and 537,807 in the urban factories.

While all sections of the industrial population of the State suffered wage slashes during the depression, the urban establishments restored wages at an earlier period and at a higher rate, as can be seen in Table II.

Edwin E. Witte has pointed out that intermittent unemployment<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Statistics have been computed for a hundred year period but are omitted here. They are available to anyone interested.

<sup>8</sup> The data for Tables I, II, III, V, VII and VIII were compiled from the Annual Statistics of Manufactures collected each year by the Division of Statistics of the Department of Labor and Industry of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Through the courtesy of Roswell F. Phelps, Director of the Division, special tabulations of the materials for the rural communities were made by the writer.

<sup>9</sup> By intermittent unemployment is meant irregularity of work, the month by month and season by season lay-offs and similar fluctuations in available work among wage earners who have established jobs in industry.



is one of the most serious types of unemployment among gainful workers in our society. Intermittent unemployment in Massachusetts has been consistently more widespread among industrial workers in rural than in urban areas. This disadvantage of the rural factory worker is sharpened during a depression. During the period, 1926-1936, fifty-one

TABLE II  
INDEX OF AVERAGE YEARLY EARNINGS OF WORKERS IN RURAL AND URBAN INDUSTRY IN  
MASSACHUSETTS: 1927-1937  
1927 = 100\*

YEAR	RURAL	URBAN
1927	100	100
1928	95	101
1929	97	102
1930	81	98
1931	69	89
1932	79	78
1933	73	73
1934	75	79
1935	80	82
1936	85	88
1937	89	92

\* For the year, 1927, the average wage for the rural factory worker was \$1,221.31, and for the urban factory worker, \$1,224.22.

TABLE III  
INTERMITTENT INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT IN RURAL AND URBAN MASSACHUSETTS: 1926-1936\*

YEAR	PERCENTAGE OF THE AVERAGE NUMBER OF JOBS IN YEAR THAT WERE INTERMITTENT	
	Rural	Urban
1926	38	9
1928	32	10
1930	42	15
1932	63	22
1934	70	14
1936	60	12

\* This material is collected in alternate years. It is not possible, therefore, to present any figures for the odd years from 1927 to 1937.

percent of the jobs have been vacant in rural factories, whereas only fourteen percent of the urban factory jobs have been thus affected. In the depths of the depression in 1934, seventy percent of the rural industrial jobs were intermittently vacant but only fourteen percent of the urban positions were in that status.

Table III has been computed by subtracting the smallest numbers

employed in any month of the year from the largest number at work in any other month of the same year. The difference has been converted into a percentage of the average number of jobs in the given year.<sup>10</sup>

In theory, the fluctuations in rural industrial employment are supposed to be offset by supplementary work in agriculture or other opportunities available in the local community. Since this has not occurred, there was a decided increase in unemployment and dependency in the years following 1929. Farming has not provided the opportunities to replace the loss in income. In the year, 1935, when eighty percent of the rural unemployed were industrial workers and sixty-three percent of the public dependents came from this class, surveys<sup>11</sup> disclosed that only one percent of this group had been hired for work on a farm since the onset of their involuntary idleness. And only nineteen percent were able to find any kind of substitute work. It was not because the unemployed industrial workers preferred "going on the town" to having a job. This is evidenced by the fact that it was not until six months after the factory wage ceased and all other possibilities had been probed and savings exhausted, that the average industrial family that became dependent, was forced to ask for assistance. A fourth of these households managed to avoid public relief for a year, despite many sacrifices. Only four percent of the relief cases sought outside aid in the first month after loss of employment. As a result of the depletion of family reserves and the continued absence of income sources, the year 1935 witnessed the rural areas with a greater proportion of its population involuntarily unemployed and on public relief than in the urban areas of the State; thirty-five percent of the employables were unemployed in the rural towns and but twenty-five percent in the cities. Forty-one percent of the unemployed gainful workers in rural communities were receiving public assistance and twenty-two percent of the same grouping in urban communities were being given public aid.

That in the rural towns the great majority of the employables un-

<sup>10</sup> Thus in 1926, on the average, 40,824 jobs were available in rural industry. The range in jobs in that year was one month at a maximum of 48,789 jobs, and in another month a minimum of 33,163 jobs, making a net difference of 15,626, which is thirty-eight percent of the average number of jobs in that year.

<sup>11</sup> The data in this and the following paragraph and in Table IV are based on the results of a special tabulation of the 1934 Unemployment Census of Massachusetts, plus a survey of rural relief trends in Massachusetts conducted in 43 sample communities during 1935-1937 by the writer under the sponsorship of the Division of Social Research and the National Research Project, Works Progress Administration.

employed and the proportion of the gainful workers unemployed on relief were industrial workers, is clearly indicated in Table IV.<sup>12</sup>

Why did the alternate and supplementary economic resources fall short?

Farming was in a depression at the same time as industry. It could not take up the slack of unemployment and dependency even in its own population. Table V shows that both the numbers hired and the total output for wages were decreasing in agriculture.

This lessening of outside paid help was viewed as an imperative measure by farmers facing a shrinking income from the sale of products resulting from a contracted local market.<sup>13</sup> The farm family income underwent a further decrease as children working in the town factories

TABLE IV

THE PERCENT IN EACH OCCUPATIONAL GROUPING OF UNEMPLOYED RURAL GAINFUL WORKERS;  
AND THE PERCENT IN EACH OCCUPATIONAL GROUPING OF UNEMPLOYED RURAL GAINFUL  
WORKERS ON RELIEF IN MASSACHUSETTS: JUNE, 1935

OCCUPATION	PERCENT OF RURAL GAINFUL WORKERS UNEMPLOYED*	PERCENT OF RURAL GAINFUL WORKERS UN- EMPLOYED ON RELIEF†
Industry.....	79.5	62.5
Agriculture.....	3.2	13.1
Professions.....	5.7	.7
Business.....	2.8	1.7
Clerical.....	6.0	5.0
No Regular One.....	2.8	17.0
Totals.....	100.0	100.0

\* Of the 154,963 gainful workers in rural Massachusetts, 52,941 were unemployed.

† Of the gainful workers unemployed, 22,361 were on some form of relief.

lost their jobs. Every attempt to economize was made to avoid being added to the growing list of farms lost because of tax delinquencies, foreclosed mortgages, and bankruptcy. That these were not unfounded fears is shown in Table VI.

Between 1930 and 1935, the number of mortgaged farms in Massa-

<sup>12</sup> Standard Chi-Square tests for a "2 by r table,"

$$X^2 = \frac{1}{\bar{p}\bar{q}} \left\{ (\sum f_1 p_1) - n_1 \bar{p} \right\}$$

reveal that the observed differences cannot be accounted for by chance alone.

<sup>13</sup> I. G. Davis has pointed out that: "The prosperity of New England's farms depends on the extent and purchasing power of the local population. When this purchasing power is high the people are inclined to buy high-grade perishables, like fluid milk and the local vegetables and fruits, rather than canned milk or substitutes of inferior quality." "Agricultural Production in New England," p. 127-128. *New England's Prospect: 1933*. Amer. Geog. Soc. Spec. Publ. 16, New York, 1933.

chusetts increased thirty-one percent and the total amount involved in farm mortgages went up sixteen percent. In that same interval, the average value of farm real estate declined from \$130.26 per acre to \$116.44, and the average value per farm fell from \$10,205 to \$7,285.

But even had there been no agricultural depression to reduce the demand for farm laborers, there still would have been a deficiency in

TABLE V  
INDEX OF YEARLY AVERAGE OF AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT AND TOTAL WAGES IN  
MASSACHUSETTS: 1931-1937  
September, 1931 = 100\*

YEAR	EMPLOYMENT]	WAGES
1931†	72	75
1932	68	46
1933	58	37
1934	57	32
1935	56	31
1936	49	29
1937	46	31

\* Values for sample in base month were 4,217 employees and \$112,644.

† Covers the four months starting with September.

TABLE VI  
NUMBER OF FARMS PER 1,000 CHANGING OWNERSHIP DUE TO TAX DELINQUENCIES, FORECLOSURES  
AND BANKRUPTCY IN MASSACHUSETTS: 1931-1937\*

YEAR	DUE TO DELINQUENT TAXES	DUE TO FORECLOSURES OF MORTGAGES, BANKRUPTCY, ETC.†	TOTAL
1931	1.2	4.0	5.2
1932	2.4	8.1	10.5
1933	3.1	10.3	13.4
1934	5.9	10.0	15.9
1935	7.9	9.2	17.1
1936	6.9	7.7	14.6
1937	4.3	7.5	11.8

\* *Agricultural Statistics*, 1931-1937. U.S.D.A.

† Includes loss of title by default of contract, sale to avoid foreclosure, transfer and surrender of title to avoid foreclosure.

farm jobs to provide supplementary work for idle industrial workers. Farming in Massachusetts is primarily a family enterprise; all but six percent of the farms in the State are operated with a family as the economic core. Nearly three-fourths of the going farms rely exclusively on the work of non-paid family members. Farmers requiring additional workers can draw upon a trained labor market cheaper than the industrial labor supply. The latter, for the most part, consists of workers

with little or no experience in agriculture. Of the industrial workers on relief in 1935, only fifteen percent had any experience in farming since the age of sixteen. It is, therefore, not surprising to note that in the relief population of 1935, only one percent of the industrial workers found even partial or temporary jobs on farms since the loss of their last regular job, while forty-six percent of the agricultural workers on relief had succeeded in securing such work. When we add to the already available agricultural labor market the recent immigrants to rural Massachusetts—the French-Canadians, the Scandinavians, the Poles, the Italians and the Portuguese<sup>14</sup>—all of whom are eager to accept farm work at low wages in the hope of learning local farm practices and eventually starting their own farm, it becomes evident that the idle industrial worker cannot easily find farm employment and maintain his family.

What then of the part-time farms of industrial families? Although part-time farming had increased phenomenally in Massachusetts during the prosperous years, it failed to expand proportionally during the depression. Between 1925 and 1930, the number of farms under three acres<sup>15</sup> more than doubled, going from 420 to 1,035. From 1930 to 1935 the number grew from 1,035 to 1,394—which was the lowest rate of increase for any size farm in the State. The number of operating farms for the State as a whole increased thirty-seven percent in this same period. Households relying on small kitchen gardens soon found that their returns from this source were far too meager to provide the necessities of life, along with meeting land rentals, taxes, and the costs of farm operations. Some of the land owned by these families was close to sub-marginal for agricultural purposes. Those that sought to enlarge their kitchen gardens into more adequate farms found that the cost of the adjacent land was prohibitive. As a result, most idle industrial workers gave up the attempt to meet their needs through little farms and looked for jobs in neighboring cities or secured work on relief projects.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Cf. J. L. Hypes, "Recent Immigrant Stocks in New England Agriculture," *New England's Prospect*: 1933, *idem*.

<sup>15</sup> David Rozman estimates that two-thirds of the farms below three acres are operated by part-time farmers. *Part-Time Farming in Massachusetts*, Massachusetts AESB 266, Amherst, 1930.

<sup>16</sup> The same tendency has been noted in the neighboring state of Connecticut and also has been found in many other regions. See N. L. Whetten and W. C. McKain, *A Sociological Analysis of Relief and Non-Relief Families in a Rural Connecticut Town*, Connecticut AESB 219, Storrs, 1937. N. L. Whetten and R. F. Field, *Norwich: An Industrial Part-Time Farming Area*, Connecticut AESB 226, Storrs, 1938; for a state by state summary, Carter Goodrich and others, *Migration and Economic Opportunity*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1936.



Unemployed industrial workers seeking jobs in neighboring communities experienced discrimination. Each town felt that its own workers should be cared for before outsiders were aided. Zimmerman found<sup>17</sup> that non-resident workers in communities of Massachusetts were the "last to be hired and the first to be fired." When chosen, they were placed in the lower paying jobs, assigned to the last shift, and given few opportunities to advance. Because of these handicaps and the added time and cost of travel, the commuting worker often became discouraged over his lot and maladjusted.

Other types of substitute work likewise failed to provide the needed income. Makeshift jobs in the community added little either to the individual's sense of accomplishment or income. The lack of any commercially profitable handicraft precluded the use of such work as a source of family income.

A number of small retail establishments were started by former factory workers. A net total of fifteen hundred additional retail businesses appeared between 1929 and 1935. This expansion was for the most part not chain enterprises, the number of individual proprietors being over a thousand. This growth was not the reflection of increased trade, for the total sales were actually declining—being \$4,633,000 less in 1935 than in 1929. Such a decrease was inevitable in an area in which the gross income, and hence purchasing power, decreased thirty-nine percent among industrial families and twenty-eight percent among farm families. As a result, the established businesses faced intensifying competition.

On the basis of these experiences, it scarcely can be said that rural industrial workers successfully integrated their main occupation with other income activities to effectively cope with periods of unemployment.

In a state which has been experiencing in recent years the death and emigration of many of its industries, the rural factories have had a higher rate of mortality and mobility than the urban ones. While urban centers have been able to replace their losses to some degree, industrial rural communities have become, in many instances, stranded populations. As seen in Table VII, in the depths of the last major depression this tendency was quickened in the rural towns<sup>18</sup> and when

<sup>17</sup> C. C. Zimmerman and M. E. Frampton, *Family and Society*, D. van Nostrand Company, New York, 1935.

<sup>18</sup> Brunner and Lorge report similar trends for other parts of the country in their resurvey of the 140 sample agricultural villages. *Rural Trends in Depression Years*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1937.

recovery set in, the speed of improvement was lower in the rural than in the urban areas.

During the downward swing, twenty rural communities lost all their factories and the remainder of the factory towns experienced reductions in the number of going concerns. Table VIII reveals that the proportion of rural towns with three or more going concerns dropped from fifty-eight to thirty-seven percent.

The falling off in industrial operations meant curtailment in local revenues. Many towns had heavy debts to meet that could not be repudiated. These obligations were often the result of expansions required in public buildings and services made necessary by the presence

TABLE VII  
INDEX OF THE NUMBER OF INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS IN RURAL AND URBAN MASSACHUSETTS:  
1927-1937  
1927 = 100\*

YEAR	RURAL	URBAN
1927	100	100
1928	91	99
1929	89	98
1930	86	96
1931	87	93
1932	76	87
1933	73	81
1934	68	83
1935	75	85
1936	78	87
1937	73	88

\* In 1927, there were 564 operating factories in rural Massachusetts and 9,473 in the urban areas of the State.

of the industrial population. Taxes against these families could not be paid so that the farm families were faced with heavier burdens than ever before. If the idle industrial workers migrated, the town was left with plants and equipment far beyond its needs and if they remained, they were dependent on the town to a considerable degree. Revenues from the factories which had been used as a major source of town income were sharply curtailed or completely gone, and many towns had the choice of going more deeply into indebtedness, of increasing farm taxes and thereby lowering the farmer's income, or seeking aid from the State and Federal governments.

Farmers grew restless with the constant drain on the town's resources to support the idle industrial population. This feeling was further intensified with the coming of relief projects that ran counter to their

deepest convictions of self-dependency. The apparent endlessness of this pattern greatly troubled them, for they had no desire to see the emergency prolonged into a permanent condition. But the recipients of aid and relief likewise suffered. The decline in status, the loss of traditional goals to serve as incentives, and the disappearance of the customary mode of living made life seem insecure. As neither farmer nor factory worker could find a solution and could only partially discern the underlying social forces, each displaced his sense of frustration

TABLE VIII

DISTRIBUTION OF FACTORIES IN THE INDUSTRIAL RURAL COMMUNITIES IN MASSACHUSETTS: 1927 AND 1937

NUMBER OF FACTORIES	PERCENT OF INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITIES	
	1927	1937
1	24	34
2	18	29
3	13	14
4	12	6
5	10	6
6	7	4
7	4	2
8	4	1
9	2	2
10	0	0
11	2	1
12	1	0
13	0	0
14	0	1
15	1	0
16	1	0
17	1	0
Totals.....	100	100

by complaints against the other, out of which came conflicts which quickly dissolved the solidarity of the community.<sup>19</sup>

A serious community maladjustment has grown out of the replacement of locally owned industries with absentee ownership. This has brought sharp crises to many towns, recent community studies have revealed.<sup>20</sup> Those towns that were successful in attracting responsible

<sup>19</sup> See Brunner's description of the prevailing discordance between the industrial and agricultural populations in like communities in other rural areas. *Industrial Village Churches*, Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York, 1930.

<sup>20</sup> V. Shlokman, *An Economic History of a Factory Town, A Study of Chicopee, Massachusetts*, Smith College Studies in History, Vol. 20, Northampton, 1934; A. Hanney, *A Chronicle of Industry on the Mill River*, Smith College Studies in History, Vol. 21, Northampton, 1935; E. E. Oakes, *Studies in Massachusetts Town Finance*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1937.

outside investments and entrepreneurs, found themselves confronted with new hazards. When the local plants had been owned and run by a resident family for generations, traditions and mutual attachments gave considerable protection to employer and employee. Industrial conflict was absent. Employers operated their plants at a loss, if necessary, to keep the home folks employed. Hiring and firing policies took into account the family needs and resources. Discrimination against aged workers was rare. In its place came a contractual relationship with little interest on the part of the owners in local needs and problems. Workers felt the shift in status and in their insecurities were less willing to make sacrifices to help keep the industry operating. In past crises, with local ownership, employees went to the aid of their employer, taking voluntary wage slashes and some even loaning him their savings. In recent years they have discovered that loyalty to the outside owner does not elicit reciprocal feelings of identity of interest.

Town leaders in some localities made frantic efforts to keep industrial concerns going and to attract new ones where old ones had closed or moved away. The major inducements were the promise of low taxes, cooperative skilled labor supply, and available vacant plants. The last, in many instances having been taken over by the town in lieu of taxes, were offered to prospective manufacturers on very favorable terms. Workers accepted sub-marginal wages for a period of time to help the entrepreneur meet the cost of moving the plant to their town, while local business agreed to invest in the new enterprise to help it become established.

The experience of most rural communities with imported companies was neither amicable nor profitable. Measured in terms of wages paid, "the new firm brought the workers very little else besides jobs."<sup>21</sup> Many manufacturers turned out to be more concerned with exploiting the privileges given them than in establishing a permanent business. Having used up the subsidies given by the resident municipality, having exhausted the period in which the workers had agreed to accept sub-standard wages, and having drained all available local savings, the concerns moved to another rural community which offered a similar set of privileges and started the process all over again.

A number of shrewd entrepreneurs took full advantage of the stranded rural industrial towns that were eager to become self-supporting again.

<sup>21</sup> K. De Pre Lumpkin, *Shutdowns in the Connecticut Valley, A Study of Worker Displacement in the Small Industrial Community*, Smith College Studies in History, Vol. 19, Northampton, 1934, p. 225.

Some of them regarded as their chief profit the local funds that could be secured while setting up pseudo-factories. Even when communities became aware of this type of activity, they frequently were not in a position to discriminate between legitimate and exploitative enterprises. When the established industrial family migrated with the closing of the mill, the only remaining community leaders were farmers who had little knowledge of business practices and legal contracts. The factory workers continuing their residence in the community because of social ties, investments in homes and lack of opportunities elsewhere, likewise had little or no experience in the operation of business. In such circumstances, it was not difficult for ingenious outsiders to convince the town fathers that their offers would accrue to the benefit of the town. This pattern and the resulting disillusionment has been fully portrayed in a number of case studies.<sup>22</sup>

Rural communities have not succeeded in developing effective social techniques to meet the needs of a dual economy. Thus, less than ten percent of the rural schools offer occupational training for either youth or adults that gears into the local means of gaining a living. Nor can those seeking such training secure it in neighboring cities for their vocational schools are overcrowded and, furthermore, do not offer a curriculum oriented to the unique combination of skills required of workers engaged in both farming and industry. There is no program for assisting the migration of stranded populations or for guiding them toward self-dependency. The lack of coordination between various public agencies at the community level precludes a systematic attack at the core of the recurrent dislocations and fails to protect sections of the population which are especially vulnerable.<sup>23</sup>

Hence it can be concluded that decentralized industry in its present form in rural Massachusetts does not mean greater security either for the workers or for the communities in which they live. The rural industrial worker has a much less secure status than either the industrial worker in the city or the full-time farmer. Rural communities that

<sup>22</sup> See C. C. Zimmerman, *The Changing Community*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1938; K. De Pre Lumpkin, *op. cit.*; J. Useem, *A Study of Social Security in the Rural Communities of Massachusetts*, 1939, Ph.D. Thesis, Univ. of Wisconsin Library; A. Schwartzfeld, *Location and Migration of the Boot and Shoe Industry*, National Research Project, Philadelphia, 1937.

<sup>23</sup> That these gaps are not unique to Massachusetts is apparent in the reports of other rural areas characterized by decentralized industry. Cf., E. de S. Brunner, *op. cit.*; J. J. Rhyne, *Some Southern Cotton Mill Workers and Their Villages*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1930; L. MacDonald, *Labor Problems and the American Scene*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1938; and A. J. Altmeier, "Social Security in Relation to Agriculture and Rural Areas," *Social Security Bull.*, Vol. 3, No. 7, 1940.



have tried to combine industry with agriculture have found it to bring new and unforeseen hazards.

Still there may be cogent reasons for encouraging industry to locate in rural areas—as a way of countering the over-urbanization of society, as a means of providing new opportunities to rural populations with limited agricultural resources, as a national defense measure.<sup>24</sup> Since there is new evidence of a national trend for some industries to locate in agricultural areas, additional protections are greatly needed to prevent new and far-reaching insecurities in rural America.

<sup>24</sup> Cf., J. E. Boodin, "The Unit of Civilization," *The Social Mind*, Macmillan Co., New York, 1939; Baker, Borsodi and Wilson, *op. cit.*; and R. C. Smith, "Some Effects of the War and the Defense Program on American Agriculture," USDA, 1940.

## Notes

*Paul H. Landis and Robin M. Williams, Editors*

### PUBLIC WELFARE AND FAMILY SOCIAL WORK IN RURAL AREAS\*

The tremendous expansion of Public Welfare during the past ten years, involving the expenditure of some thirty-five billions of dollars, and the rapid spread of welfare work to rural areas, raises many questions. The chief one is whether the results have been satisfactory; or, whether serious limitations in training of leadership, objectives, and methods reveal needs for modifications. Another, is whether results sought are largely temporary or relatively permanent.

In the first place, the ambiguity of the term, Public Welfare makes criteria for analysis difficult to formulate. If the philosophy and organization of Poor Law relief and Christian charity have been compounded with case work to produce Public Welfare then it should be judged by its alleviation of distress, provision of a buffer in time of crisis, and by its capacity to provide adequate case-work attention. But if Public Welfare refers to the process and program of maintaining and furthering the balance and adequacy of the total life of a people it might be measured by its development of mass intelligence and comprehension in order that people themselves might better ease and rectify their cultural strains, search for more stable and satisfactory economic foundations, and prevent extensive dependency. Furthermore, a program that is based upon the idea that individuals, families, and parts of communities become pathological or diseased—inside of an otherwise normal and healthy society—and may be relieved or cured by treatment; must be judged very differently from one which rests upon the assumption that foci of maladjustment are symptomatic of cultural lags and accumulated strains.

It was to be expected that traditional methods of extending relief to the needy would be given to the victims of the financial disaster of 1929. It was also natural that many would expect the emergency to pass so that contraction of the program and its costs would soon follow. It now appears that the problem of the "ill fed, ill clothed, and ill housed" is still large and promises to continue. Evaluation of the program is in order.

Welfare workers have been among the first to appraise Public Welfare efforts; and, along with other students, find many inadequate and superficial elements. They find undue reliance and emphasis upon the case work approach, too little recognition of the place and limitations of social work in the total framework of society, and too much aloofness and detachment from the social processes of community life on the part of Public Welfare specialists. They discover that training of workers before and during the emergency period placed undue

\* Adapted from a paper read before the Third Annual Meeting of the Rural Sociological Society in Chicago, Illinois, December 29, 1940.

emphasis upon assumptions and techniques which are limited in realistic foundations, and, therefore, limited in effectiveness when applied. They are turning toward prevention of distress and maladjustment rather than relief as the central problem; and the establishment of reasonable social security rather than amelioration as the principal objective.

The weaknesses of Public Welfare and Family Social Work have been peculiarly apparent in rural areas. In spite of the diffusion of urban patterns and values through rural areas, or the osmotic process called "rurbanization;" rural community relations are not now, and are not likely to become so formalized, legalistic, impersonal, stratified, and atomized as those in urban centers. Dissociation has progressed so far in urban communities that those who are crushed and defeated by chronic poverty and those who have ample means dwell apart in space, but are so distant socially as to have practically no direct communication with each other. Social work developed as the agency for indirect transmission of care and relief from areas of high morale and independence to areas of low morale and dependence. The pattern evolved slowly and became institutionalized and professionalized. In the process of evolution Poor Law standards of relief and indiscriminate, impulsive charity were discarded in favor of plans and prescriptions to restore personal or family stability.

When these institutionalized assumptions, techniques, and organization of social work are applied by urban trained personnel to rural situations conflicts and confusion results. In some rural areas poverty is not associated with attitudes of dependency; and the giving of information through interviews to strangers and acceptance of relief from them are not understood. In some other rural areas attitudes of dependence bind those in poverty directly to those who provide subsistence. In this latter case, social welfare efforts produce conflict and misunderstanding especially with the landlord class. Furthermore, neither the spatial nor social distance between those who are able and those who are unable to support themselves is very great in rural areas. Bureaucratic control is not so well understood and accepted in rural parts as in industrial and commercial centers from which the pattern is derived. Mutual aid for those in temporary distress and Poor Law standards or indifference for "ne'er-do-wells" bring suspicion upon uniform and adequate relief. Knowledge about the various administrations, their functions and functionaries is extremely limited, and these matters are very puzzling to those who do not keep a close check on the printed page and upon intellectual fictions. Workers reared and trained in a cosmopolitan world have difficulty in perceiving and understanding the subtle and tenacious value complexes of varied localisms. Rationalizing the matter by saying that social work principles and techniques are *scientific* and *universal* doesn't alter the fact that adjusting social relations is an *art* which depends upon comprehension of the total situation. Filing personal data under different categories in the welfare offices and dealing with people as "signers," "nonsigners," "relief," "nonrelief," "employed," and "unemployed," may add little to social organization and integration.

It has been suggested that some of these difficulties be remedied by (a) development of courses in rural social work training; (b) diffusion of information about the various security and rehabilitation programs; (c) Coordination of the various governmental programs and agencies; (d) extension of local participation in control; (e) development of a more flexible and adaptable program.

The writer suggests that the dualism in the meaning of Public Welfare should be cleared up. Melioration is one thing. Prevention of dependency is another thing. Melioration will always have its place, but there is little value in confusing it or uniting it with needed social reconstruction and planning. The latter is a long time process which requires a different training and comprehension in its leadership; and a very different method of approach. It will depend upon changing the attitudes, increasing the understanding, and changing the practices of masses of people. To bring it about the local value systems, action patterns, and universes of communication must be analyzed so that motivation may be liberated. Furthermore, desired values and practices must be analyzed and seen in their total relationships. The segmentary tinkering with social complexes by specialists does not necessarily advance Public Welfare in any sense. Some approximation of the Folk School of Denmark, the best type of county or community coordinating-council-work in this nation may indicate the direction which Public Welfare of the future might take. These, however, must be predicated upon a thorough understanding of local value complexes and patterns so that assimilation and integration rather than further disorganization may occur. Emphasis must be shifted from individual and family case work to adult education and community organization—from liberation by bread to liberation by ideas.

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#### THE CONCEPT, SOCIAL PROCESSES: ITS MEANING AND USEFULNESS IN THE STUDY OF RURAL SOCIETY\*

The achievements of any science are determined in large part by the comprehensiveness of the problem the scientist sets for himself. In rural sociology we have asked many questions such as, "What?", "When?", and "Where?"—questions which involve no essential problem and the answers to which are usually in terms of simple factual statements. We need to set for ourselves the more challenging problem of answering the question, "How?".

The query, "How?", implies a world of change, relationships, and actions. In setting for ourselves the problem of answering the question, "How?", we

\* Abstract of a paper presented at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, Chicago, December 27, 1940. Mimeographed copies of the full paper may be obtained from the Division of Rural Sociology, The State College of Washington, Pullman.

are dealing with phenomena of an entirely different character from those dealt with when we ask such questions as "What?", "When?", or "Where?". The query, "How?", can never be answered by simple factual data, for the question by its very nature assumes patterns of change, relationships, and actions. The question, "How?", challenges us with problems that are worthy of the best efforts of science.

A process in science is a conceptual solution to a "How?" query in which change or action patterns are the subject of study. If the process is a concept concerning historical events, it describes the development of a situation under observation and answers the query, "How did the situation come about?". If it deals with a current, rather than an historical situation, it answers the query, "How does the situation under observation function?". If one is interested in processes which make for stability, the question, "How is the situation maintained?", is also appropriate, for in asking this question one assumes that patterns of action are essential to the maintenance of stability as well as to functioning and to producing change.

Time, rather than space, is basic to process concepts. It is true that both change and action patterns take place in space as well as in time, but process generalizations are based on temporal rather than spatial dimensions. Change and function differ essentially, not in time involved for the execution of the pattern, but rather in the effect of action on the acting unit. In the case of change, one is thinking of action that modifies the behaving unit; in the case of function, one is thinking of action that modifies only relationship of the acting parts. Change implies modification; function implies repetitive persistence.

This series of assumptions leads us to the position that, until we develop processes in rural sociology, we will be unable to solve the problem<sup>1</sup> we should set for ourselves in approaching any kind of inquiry having temporal dimensions: i.e., involving change or action patterns. It is this proposition I wish to defend.

The question immediately arises as to the importance of processes in any complete scheme of sociological analysis. The answer hinges on the importance of change and action in the analysis being made. If the problem is one of explaining how a given social situation came to be, there is no possibility of generalization except in terms of process. The same is true if one is dealing with function: i.e., how a given system works. As I view the field, our most challenging opportunities for an analysis of rural life of the present time lie in the direction of analyses of conditions in terms of change and of action patterns. The diagram illustrates the approximate place of processes in the field of scientific inquiry.

The specific problem of sociology is to arrive at a statement of the processes of human behavior in association. The basic problems are: How do specific forms of human association change? How do people act in association?

<sup>1</sup> Solution in the sense of understanding, not amelioration.



Assuming this to be true, is there any given set of processes that can solve the problem? The customary use of the phrase, "*the* social processes," seems ill-advised. It implies that some set list of categories that have traditional prestige is adequate to explain human behavior. If a process is a concept which stands for the way things act in an observed pattern of related events, one's list of processes in any given situation will depend on the phenomenon which he is attempting to explain.

Undoubtedly some social processes are more important than others. The most important ones for any research worker are those by which he can analyze most satisfactorily the phenomena under observation. The most important

THE APPROXIMATE PLACE OF PROCESSES IN THE SCHEME OF SCIENTIFIC STUDY

APPROACHES OF SCIENCE	BASIC INTERROGATION	METHOD	RESULT	
Structural and organizational	Question—What?	Description	Facts—knowledge of parts	These procedures provide data for scientific analysis and are a part of the problem-solving procedure of science.
Classificatory and systematization	Question—Where belong?	Identification	Categorical arrangement of parts	
Survey	Question—Where located?	Location in space	Conceptual representation of spatial arrangement	
Historical (as used by sociologist)	Question—When?	Comparison in time by dated events	Trends	
Analytical	Problem—How change?	Patterning of events	Processes	This procedure is based on knowledge obtained by one or more of the above procedures or by other comparable objective procedures, and solves problems in terms of generalizations. This is the problem-solving step of science.
	Problem—How function?	Patterning of actions		
	Problem { How related? How compare? etc.	Patterning in space	Other types of generalization (principles, etc.)	

ones for sociology are those few or many which answer the major "how" problems involving change or action in our society.

What processes are important for rural sociology? Whatever social processes are operating in rural society are important for rural sociology. But this is not a satisfactory answer. What are the most important "how" problems for rural sociology today? If we can answer this question, we will not need to quibble about anybody's list of "*the* social processes." I doubt that we can soon agree on these most important "how" problems. As long as we cannot, there can be no list of "*the* social processes," but rather "social processes."

The essential thing is that we, as rural sociologists, recognize that we have only begun when we have collected a group of facts about social phenomena,

when we have understood the structural scheme of the group or community we are studying, when we have diagrammed or pictured by verbal or statistical symbols the historical and current skeletal framework in which life operates, when we have surveyed areas of territory. These are but the spade work. These are but the things out of which a science of human relationships, an analysis of human association, an understanding of behavior grow.

If any field of sociology is to deal in a meaningful way with any aspect of life, it must show how human life works, how institutions function, how personality develops, how change in social relationships occurs, how the cultural framework into which social life is built is modified, how the regulative system works, how change in the cultural mold or in the relationship of groups leads to friction, maladjustment, and problems.

We have been too much concerned, in our practical emphasis, because of our experiment station heritage, with the question of "What?" and far too little concerned with the problem, "How?". As long as we deal with the question "What?" science must be essentially factual and interest must center in description and classification. Such an approach provides interesting information about the rural community and provides some information that the planner can use. But if we rural sociologists fail to solve problems of "How?" more practical minded laymen will, for "how" problems must be solved, rightly or wrongly, as a preface to any program of practical action.

But we, as sociologists, should assume the major responsibility for a solution to the "How?" problems for the sake of developing our own science, because in solving them we are forced to ask ourselves: What of the facts? What do they mean in terms of human relationships? How are the events of life related? Such questions call for analysis. We cannot approach any problem of contemporary rural life and go far beyond a mere description of fact and structure without being driven to thinking in terms of processes. Analysis inevitably reveals processes.

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#### RURAL PLANNING: ITS SOCIAL AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION ASPECTS\*

It is the thesis of this paper that the development of the action agencies, county planning, and the Mount Weather agreement<sup>1</sup> have not basically changed the role of the rural sociologist in agricultural extension planning. However, the

\* A summary of paper presented at the third annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society. Chicago, Ill., Dec. 29, 1940.

<sup>1</sup> Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities and The United States Department of Agriculture, Joint Statement on Building Agricultural Land-Use Programs. Mt. Weather, Virginia, July 8, 1938.

development of new programs brings with it vastly increased demands for assistance and new emphases upon certain kinds of assistance which rural sociologists are asked to give.

Rural sociologists see three distinctive contributions which they can make in the expanded planning program:

1. They can emphasize the cultural unity of the civilization in which we live, the characteristics of the on-going social process and the direction of social change.

2. They can emphasize community organization as a basis for the coordination of planning and action programs at local, county, state, and national levels.

3. They can emphasize the principles and techniques of action along the lines of both leadership and social control. In summary, new developments emphasize a sociology of social action which will be complementary to the sociology of social relationships which heretofore has been the chief concern of rural sociologists.

Sociologists must point out that we live life as a whole. In planning it is futile to change one organization or one function without considering changes in others. Effective planning consists in selecting the pattern of culture, of organization and functioning which will most effectively attain the long-time end in view. Indiscriminate tinkering with parts of the pattern in order to attain short-time ends is worse than futile; sometimes it is positively dangerous.

Sociologists must contribute to the selection of ends toward which planners strive. Long-time ends or goals are societally determined. In a democracy the people also choose the more immediate objectives; they are the policy makers. The choice of ends to be attained may well be one of the major functions of the planning committees.<sup>2</sup> The technical expert, the scientist, is largely helpless until goals are clarified and agreed upon. During the process he may indicate the implications of various ends. After ends are agreed upon the scientist may indicate how the ends may be most effectively attained.

Sociologists must emphasize the people; the general field of population. Shall we plan to conserve our natural resources and then care for only those people which our plans will accommodate or shall we plan for all the people within the limits of our resources at any given time? If the former end is chosen, it seems obvious that further extension of population control must be incorporated as a part of the basic plan. As a matter of record some planning groups are of the opinion not only that a large reduction in the number of farmers would not be the best method of increasing income for farmers but also that more farm children should not be trained for non-farm occupations.<sup>3</sup> Empirically it is obvious that planning must be adequate for all the people.

<sup>2</sup> For a more adequate sociological treatment, see Ryan, Bryce, *Democratic Telesis and Country Agricultural Planning*. *Journal of Farm Economics*. Nov. 1940.

<sup>3</sup> Welborn, Roland and Folken, Herbert G. *Land and Man*. *Iowa Farm Economist*. October, 1939.

Sociologists must accept some responsibility for rural planning that will result in more adequate services for health, recreation, arts and welfare. They also can press for increasing recognition of the problems of rural youth, migrant classes, and low income groups. It is the job of the sociologist to present facts concerning these classes, to point out alternatives, to indicate resources and to facilitate the adjustment of rural people both in their own groups and in the great society.

Planning literature abounds with references to neighborhood and community as the basic units in planning.<sup>4</sup> It must be fully and freely granted that the sole purpose of such statements is to help planners and that a complete scientific statement would have been out of place and possibly harmful. Still planning proposals make it worth while to raise a number of questions concerning the treatment of community and neighborhood in planning. These questions can be answered by the sociologist only after delving into the theory of community far enough to present a scientific point of view.

The first major question to be considered is the old one: What is a community? Three types of definition have been attempted, all of which are valid in certain situations and each of which helps to describe certain specific situations.

1. The community is a little society; relatively complete and self-sufficient in itself. This has comparatively little meaning in the United States and is not a serviceable concept to use in county planning.

2. The community is cumulative; used in the sense of a cumulation of cultural deposits which characterize the area and form a basis for solidarity. This concept is useful in delimiting and describing cultural regions and certain smaller areas, mostly ethnic neighborhoods. It is more helpful in describing "cultural islands" than it is breaking down the "mainland" of our culture into units of a size suitable for local planning.

3. The community is functional; consisting of characteristic clusters of functional services, at various levels, in various areas within which specific services are rendered by organizations and institutions in specific horizontal interrelationships to each other. The level is set by the type of the services rendered, whether primary, secondary, or specialized. The area of the community is the area within which the interrelationships between the chosen cluster of services operate. The horizontal interrelationships are basic to the development of social solidarity. They form a system of cross ties in the social structure which tie together both interest groups and institutionalized associations.

This functional community is not a congeries of functions or interests residing in unrelated organizations and institutions. It does not characterize all social

<sup>4</sup> U. S. Dept. of Agriculture. *Communities and Neighborhoods in Land Use Planning*. County Planning Series, No. 6. Washington, D. C., 1940.

*Ibid.* Membership of Land Use Planning Committees.

relationships in the area, some of which may be related and tied together either in smaller or larger constellations, in smaller or larger communities. Hence, communities are not all inclusive; they also are not mutually exclusive except for other communities of the same type. The real heart of this concept of community is the inter-group relations or cross ties between the clustering groups which are the operating framework of the community. Intergroup dependencies are not enough. If there are no intergroup ties, there is no community.

It must be stressed that functions and areas differ for different types of communities within the same county and that community and neighborhood are names used to indicate two clear and distinct levels of community interaction, the secondary and the primary.<sup>5</sup> The various types of functional communities are the horizontal bases for county planning. At this point two observations can be made which are important for committee representation and for planning:

1. Neighborhoods do not add up into communities; neither because neighborhoods overlap or are interstitial to community boundaries nor because communities overlap county boundaries. The real reason is that each type is characterized by a different constellation of relationships. There is community planning and neighborhood planning as well as county planning. Neighborhood plans do not add up to community plans and the summation of community plans does not give county plans. The same non-additive characteristic also applies to county, state and nation. Acceptance of the idea that they do add up introduces a serious error in theory and in planning.

2. In community planning use the area served by the organizations which by their constellation characterize the type of community under consideration. Plan in this unit area for those activities and relationships which bind the clustering agencies together at the level under consideration.<sup>6</sup> In a county where the township is (1) the unit of local government, (2) the unit for school administration, (3) the unit for Farm Bureau organization, and (4) the unit for AAA compliance, interrelationships are always present. Such a township is a community and must be so considered in planning.

County planning involves community organization as well as community theory. Few concepts are more helpful in this connection than the concept of the leading organization. The role of the leading organization in rural communities need not be described here.<sup>7</sup> If leading organizations were willing to assume the necessary added responsibility for those persons who are not members and for the promotion of needed services not a part of the regular

<sup>5</sup> For the various service agencies which cluster at the various levels or types of communities and which, therefore, define the type of community, see works of Galpin, Sanderson, Kolb and others.

<sup>6</sup> Obviously, no mention has been made of the vertical integrations characteristic of most of our functional associations. Suffice it to say here that the federated form of interest group association is the form which fits logically with the foregoing analysis.

<sup>7</sup> Sanderson, Dwight and Polson, R. C. Rural Community Organization, 1939.



program, planning would be much more effective and much of the criticism of the leading organization would disappear. Some difficulty popularly arises because the leading organization varies with specific community types. For instance, the leading organization in a primary community is likely to be a church; in a secondary community, a high school; in the open county, a farmers organization. In some local areas the AAA committee is the strongest local unit functioning for agriculture. When planning at any level it is essential to obtain the support and, if possible, the leadership of the organization recognized by the local people as a leader in promoting community activities at that level.

Much attention is given to the method of representation on the planning committee; little to its method of operation. Consequently, both representation and operation are retarded by lack of understanding of the way a planning committee should function. Bit by bit they are coming to operate in line with the principles of direct representation and indirect functioning which have long been recognized as basic to the successful operation of community councils. Much exhaustive trial and error and much time might have been saved if these two principles had been understood earlier by the planners.

Rural sociologists should contribute to planning by means of a broad conception and understanding of the leadership process. It is here that planners are most indefinite; almost hopeless. Rural people are perturbed by the developments of the past 10 years which have multiplied the demand for leaders. They must be reminded continually that potential leaders are available in large numbers. The problem is to discover, enlist and develop them.

Rural leadership is becoming more specific. People increasingly go to a specific person for a specific kind of advice or assistance, for direction with regard to a specific course of action. Increasingly they are going to specialists or to their functionaries, the elected representatives of the organization whose program is in the functional and geographic area in which their problem lies. Rural leadership, though specialized, is still essentially local and personal. Instead of consulting specialists at the county or state level, farmers now consult the specialists, either voluntary or professional, who now reside in many rural communities. It is these community functionaries and local specialists, rather than the average farmers, who go to county or state levels to represent their local group or to get the information on which their own expertness is based.

This is a time of unparalleled opportunities for rural sociologists. Upon how these opportunities are met will depend the future development of rural sociology in the technological field and the future development of the science as well. Sociologists must be prepared to present sociological information on short notice; they must do the necessary research; they must sit down with the planners and apply sociological principles and techniques to problems as

they arise in actual planning. The major part of this burden will be borne by the extension rural sociologists but it can well be shared by the entire sociology staff. Beyond this, planning may well be recognized as a field within which cooperation among social scientists may develop to the point of technological unity.

Iowa State College

RAY E. WAKELEY

# Current Bulletin Reviews

*Edited by Conrad Taeuber and Homer Hitt*

## RURAL COMMUNITIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

*Diagnosing Rural Community Organization*<sup>1</sup> presents a method for gaining insight into the social organization and behavior of rural communities. This method, briefly, consists of rating on a twelve point scale each of the ten community traits found to be highly indicative of social organization. The specific traits thus rated were community self-identification, farm-village relationships, organizational interaction, organizational effectiveness, complexity of organization, community leadership, community activities, assimilative ability, community self-sufficiency, and degree of disorganization. These ten ratings for a given community, taken together, enable a general appraisal of the community organization as poor, average, or superior. The application of the diagnostic method to different communities is discussed.

*Alabama Rural Communities: A Study of Chilton County*<sup>2</sup> stresses the superiority of the social way of viewing the community as contrasted with the conventional, the political, the educational, or the agricultural. Neighborhoods, communities, leadership and social participation are studied as aspects of the social organization of the county. Finally, the "neighborhood cluster" method of delineating and studying natural communities is described.

*School Centralization and the Rural Community*<sup>3</sup> points out that, because of the resulting advantages, central school districts have increased steadily in New York State. However, cases of overlapping bus transportation areas and of competition between districts for outside pupils have made feasible the complete redistricting of the rural portions of the State. It is emphasized that in this process one requirement of the central rural-school district should be that it constitute or have possibilities of becoming a "natural community," for then, centralization would strengthen, not weaken, community organization.

## RURAL YOUTH

*Problems of Rural Youth in Selected Areas of North Dakota*<sup>4</sup> is "an investigation of the problems of 2,171 rural youth, 15-29 years of age, from selected localities of North Dakota, with particular emphasis on their economic status and its interaction with educational attainment, employment, participation in social

<sup>1</sup> Douglas Enslinger. *Diagnosing rural community organization*. Cornell Ext. Bul. 444, 43 pp. Cornell Univ., Ithaca, Sept. 1940.

<sup>2</sup> Irwin T. Sanders, and Douglas Enslinger. *Alabama rural communities: a study of Chilton County*. Vol. XXXIII, No. 1A. Total No. 136, Alabama College in cooperation with the Bur. of Agr. Econ., Montevallo, Ala., July 1940.

<sup>3</sup> Dwight Sanderson. *School centralization and the rural community*. Cornell Ext. Bul. 445, 16 pp., Cornell Univ., Ithaca, Sept. 1940.

<sup>4</sup> Donald G. Hay, et al. *Problems of rural youth in selected areas of North Dakota*. N. Dak. Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 293, 67 pp. Fargo, June 1940.

organizations, and interest in community life." The number and proportion of youth in North Dakota's population are at an all-time high now when drought and depression have greatly reduced their chance of securing employment. Less than half of the older youth left home as a solution—but these, on the whole, fared little better economically than those remaining at home. The urgent need for corrective measures is stressed.

*Guideposts for Rural Youth*,<sup>5</sup> sponsored by the American Youth Commission, tells the story of constructive activities undertaken by various local groups which have determined to do something about the specific problems confronting their own youth. Community programs to improve the situation of rural youth are described as they actually operate in various places with reference to getting a job, preparing for a job, general education, recreation, religion, health and medical care, home and family, organizations for rural youth, and young peoples' cooperation in community activity.

#### POPULATION

*Population Trends in Colorado, 1860 to 1930*,<sup>6</sup> "presents in pictorial and graphic form certain basic trends which occurred in Colorado's population between 1860 and 1930, the statistical data being based almost entirely upon the Federal Census." Although the future rate of growth will be slower, the population within the 70-year period studied increased from 37,277 to 1,035,791. The relative proportion of young productive persons, of foreign-born persons, and of farm residents, is declining. The family size is decreasing. Trends in occupation and education are analyzed and the social and economic implications of these and other significant population changes indicated.

*The Population of New Mexico: Its Composition and Changes*,<sup>7</sup> based on the United States Census, as well as other historical sources, emphasizes the characteristics and current trends of the population, in addition gives information covering its sources and changes. New Mexico, though still sparsely populated and predominately a rural State, has increased rapidly in population since being taken over by the United States, "from slightly over 60,000 in 1850 to 528,867 in 1940." This growth, for the most part, has resulted from an increase of persons born in the State but the movement in from adjacent States and the "northeast" has been considerable. Neighboring States and California have received most persons leaving the State. The population of New Mexico, like that of the nation, is growing older. The families are becoming smaller. Despite the rapid decline of the illiteracy rate, it remains three times the rate for the United States as a whole. Indians constitute seven percent of the

<sup>5</sup> E. L. Kirkpatrick. *Guideposts for rural youth*. 167 pp. American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education. Wash., D. C., Nov. 1940.

<sup>6</sup> R. W. Roskelley. *Population trends in Colorado*. Colo. Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 462, 74 pp. Fort Collins, Sept. 1940.

<sup>7</sup> Sigurd Johansen. *The population of New Mexico: its composition and changes*. New Mexico Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 273, 56 pp. State College, N. M., June 1940.

population. Among other topics treated are marital status, sex ratios, fertility, and mortality.

In *Selective Factors in Migration from a New York Rural Community*,<sup>8</sup> Belleville, New York, was restudied in order to determine whether or not selective factors were operating in the migration of rural young people and, if so, whether or not they were operating to differentiate between those migrating to other rural areas and those to urban areas.<sup>9</sup> School records, field schedules, and questionnaires yielded data on migration and associated factors for 339 former students enrolled in Belleville Union Academy between the years 1919 and 1938. There is not much difference between the rates at which high-ranking and lower-ranking students moved out of the district, but the lower-ranking students did not move out of rural areas to the same extent as the higher-ranking ones had done. The farm population has fewer of the highest-rank, somewhat more of the lowest-rank, than the village, and considerably more of the lowest-rank than the city. On the other hand, years of schooling did not function as a selective factor in migration until education had proceeded beyond high school. There is also detailed analysis of place of residence while attending high school in relation to migration, and factors in the parental home related to migration. Finally, the occupational distribution of former students is presented as a supplement to the analysis of spatial mobility.

*Landmaschinen gegen Landflucht*<sup>10</sup> points out that, despite various preventive measures and an agricultural settlement program, the flight from the land, especially the migration of agricultural workers from the agricultural areas of Germany, has continued. Hellermann describes the effect of wage levels, payments in kind, working conditions, the role of agricultural settlement, and the use of migratory workers. He concludes that the mechanization of agriculture is the basic measure which needs to be taken to insure the availability of the labor force required in agriculture, and also, to increase its productivity. There is also a description of the types of agricultural workers in Germany and an analysis of the economic aspects of increased mechanization.

#### LEVELS OF LIVING

*A Memorandum on Research in Income and Levels of Living in the South*<sup>11</sup> is a revision of a memorandum prepared for consideration at the Sixth Annual Southern Social Science Research Conference, Chattanooga, Tennessee, March 7-9, 1940. Subjects considered included definition of terms, studies of income

<sup>8</sup> Amy A. Gessner. *Selective factors in migration from a New York rural community*. Cornell Univ. Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 736, 55 pp. Ithaca, June 1940.

<sup>9</sup> Dr. C. J. Galpin and Emily F. Hoag had originally studied migrants from Belleville.

<sup>10</sup> Friedrich Carl von Hellermann. *Landmaschinen gegen Landflucht*. 95 pp. Junker und Dunnhaupt Verlag. Berlin. 1939.

<sup>11</sup> William H. Sewell. *A memorandum on research in income and levels of living in the south*. Vol. 37, No. 16. Soc. Sci. Res. Council, No. 3. Oklahoma A. & M. Coll. Stillwater, Nov. 1940.



in relation to levels of living, types of information available from studies of income and levels of living in the South, and needed research. The most urgent need at present is for accurate information on the family income and consumption patterns of major population groups; the measurement of non-monetary, especially psychic income; the evaluation of levels of living in terms of adequacy; the construction and standardization of multiple-factor indexes for the measurement of levels of living; and intensive research on the relationship between income levels, consumption patterns, family organization, attitudes of family members, community organization, social mobility, and various social processes.

#### FARM LABOR AND TENANCY

*The Plantation South, 1934-1937*<sup>12</sup> is an analysis of the changes in plantation organization and operation occurring within recent years in the Cotton Belt. The basic data were secured by a re-survey in 1937 of the 246 plantations covered in 1934 for the study *Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation*. In the intervening 3-year period significant changes took place. The plantations increased in size, as did the proportion of cropland per plantation devoted to cotton. The financial status of both tenants and landlords improved, but even in 1937, the net income of the cropper and share-tenant, including production for home-use, amounted only to about \$400 per family. Croppers worked almost half the acreage both years, but the acreage worked by wage-labor increased significantly at the expense of that formerly operated by share-tenants and renters. Mechanization showed considerable increase. Other socio-economic items analyzed in detail are relief needs and living conditions in the South, including diet, housing, health, education, and plane of living. In a final section, past and present programs and policies designed to improve conditions are critically treated.

*Unemployment Insurance and Agricultural Labor in Great Britain*<sup>13</sup> was studied because of the magnitude of the social, economic and administrative problems involved in the extension of unemployment insurance to agriculture, and the complete absence of any actual experience in social insurance coverage of agriculture in the United States. The provisions of the British Unemployment Insurance (Agriculture) Act are summarized, its statistical and actuarial bases described, and its relations with the general system explained. Finally, the much greater extent and complexity of the American problem is held to indicate the need for further research before extending coverage to agricultural labor.

<sup>12</sup> W. C. Holley, et al. *The plantation south, 1934-1937*. WPA Res. Mono. XXII, 124 pp. U. S. Govt. Printing Office, Washington, 1940.

<sup>13</sup> Wilbur J. Cohen. *Unemployment insurance and agricultural labor in Great Britain*. Pamphlet Series No. 2, 32 pp. Committee on Social Security of the Soc. Sci. Res. Council, Washington, D. C., 1940.

## Book Reviews

*Edited by Nathan L. Whetten and Reed H. Bradford*

*The Cultural Approach to History.* Edited for the *American Historical Association*. By Caroline F. Ware. New York: Morningside Heights, Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. vii + 359. \$3.50.

*Agrarian Conflicts in Colonial New York 1711-1775.* By Irving Mark. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. 7 + 237. \$3.00.

*The Background of the Revolution in Maryland.* By Charles Albrow Barker. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940. Pp. vii + 419. \$3.50.

*Studies of the Virginia Eastern Shore in the Seventeenth Century.* By Susie M. Ames. Richmond, Virginia: The Dietz Press, 1940. Pp. 1 + 274. \$3.50.

*Lowell, A Study of Industrial Development.* By Margaret Terrell Parker. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940. Pp. v + 238. \$2.25.

*The Country Printer in New York State, 1785-1830.* By Milton W. Hamilton. New York: Morningside Heights, Columbia University Press, 1936. \$3.75.

*Texas Letters.* Yanaguana Society Publications, Volume V. By Frederic C. Chabot. San Antonio, Texas: Yanaguana Society. 1940. Pp. 13 + 188

*The Cultural Approach to History* is peculiarly related to Rural Sociology because, if adequately done, much of it becomes historical Rural Sociology. This is evident in the work edited for the American Historical Association from the 1939 meeting papers by Caroline F. Ware. Its six sections deal respectively with techniques of analysis, cultural groups, institutions, ideas, change, and sources and materials. Particularly outstanding is the introduction by Ware in which she holds "that each age writes and rewrites history in terms of the values, attitudes and curiosities of that age . . ." so that it is time (she implies) for academic Americans aware of the "limitations of outlook inherent in (present) Western culture" to busy themselves with their destined job of rewriting and reinterpreting American history according to the newer light. In addition to the integrating work by Caroline F. Ware, attention to four essays is called by their particular excellence and relation to Rural Sociology. These include three essays on the peasant family ("Zadruga" by Philip E. Moseley, "Chinese" by Knight Biggerstaff, and "Russian Household, Mir and Kolkhoz" by Lazar Volin) and one on the "German army of the Second Reich" by Alfred Vagts. This last could be improved if it told the story of the decay in the institution of the army which led the A-1 bureaucracy between 1905-1914 to wreck the conceptions of military strategy and tactics set forth by Graf von Schlieffen.

The other six books are all related directly to historical Rural Sociology of the United States but are arranged somewhat in descending order as to

their use of a theoretical framework of cultural history. Irving Mark takes up the *Agrarian Conflict in Our 18th Century New York* because it was the major concrete issue which preceded the American Revolution in most of the colonies. The small farmer, the frontiersman, the rebel against the quit-rent, the opponent of feudalism and large land holdings in America finally saw his century of struggle merge into a war of colonial independence when the Royal Court in London eventually sided with the large Tory land holder and a few feudal barons and merchants furnished leaders for the struggling backwoodsmen. As Colden of New York wrote in 1732 most of the small farmers had left Europe to avoid a land system where they could not enjoy land in fee simple. The inclosure acts in England and the difficulties in Scotland and Ireland had created conditions there so that the most of the immigrants to the colonies did not favor the feudal system in America. In spite of this, they found that due to various historical factors the concentration of land and feudal right was in many respects becoming more firmly entrenched here than even in Europe. While many who fought against England did so because *they* wanted large land holdings for themselves as opposed to the original proprietors, nevertheless this does not dissociate the American Revolution at all from the general struggle against feudal social organization in all Western society during this period. The involvement of commercial interests and of the Royal Court were but side issues in a general movement against any other than fee simple form of land proprietorship.

While Charles Albro Barker in his study of *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* sees several other contingent factors (rising nationalism, the frontier, the developing middle class, the depression in the tobacco industry and the 18th century ideas of revolt), yet fundamentally his study bears out the major conclusions proved by Irving Mark. It was the feudal system which had to be broken up and the alignment of the Royal Court with the "proprietors" was largely an historical case of poor political judgment. "At no time in the eighteenth century . . . was there even an interval of real political peace in Maryland" (p. 215). This introductory sentence to the chapter on "The Anti-Proprietary Movement" gives the major thesis which cannot but be reached from his study. The backwoodsman, most often a German or a Scotch-Irishman, had no love for England or the upholding of privilege. The wealthy tobacco farmer, paying £ 51,000 out of income £ 200,000 as taxes for an inefficient and decadent feudal bureaucracy, eventually sided with the frontiersman (Ch. IV).

Susie M. Ames' study of the Eastern Shore, while predominantly of the lowland Feudal country last to turn against the Royal Court and most productive of interests vested in Toryism, still bears out this general theme or gives a foreboding of it, although more indirectly than the other works. However her study was limited to the 17th century whereas evidently the first North American century of Revolt was the 18th. One major contribution from her book is the origin of the share cropper. This individual was not a product

of a compromise with slavery after our Civil War but was in fact a product of decadent feudalism of the 17th Century and still exists as such a running sore in the American body politic.

The other three books are less directly related to this general topic but still fundamental to its understanding. Margaret Terrell Parker's study of *Lowell*, Massachusetts, its rural industrial rise and decline, is a model of clear cut analysis of a pioneer period (hardly yet over) in which the change of peoples (from Anglo to Irish, to French, to others) becomes the final factor in a number of other economic and geographic changes leading to the disruption of the earlier American institutions and giving our country that fundamental instability which differs it from older cultures. The "cultural approach" reaches its greatest fruition here, because without such tacit assumptions this study could not have reached its high creative level.

The Milton W. Hamilton study of *The Country Printer in New York State between 1785 and 1830* not only analyzes the beginning of the rural press but also continues the theme of the development of the American rural community, left off by Susie Ames at the end of the 17th century and by Irving Mark and Charles Albro Barker at the Revolution. The country newspapers averaging about 600 circulation were published by printers, largely self-educated. Most of them were weeklies, devoted primarily to local politics, and little if any to local news. What constitutes "news" now was then gossip. Detailed information on 650 early country printer-editors are given in the appendix along with a bibliography on the early press and early colonial community history. This whole work is thus very valuable.

*Texas Letters* is Volume V in a series on local history for the early years of San Antonio, Texas, particularly before 1855. The other four consist of a report on the Spanish Archives in San Antonio, memoirs of some of the early settlers and a volume by Frederick C. Chabot, secretary of the Yanaguana Society, entitled *With the Makers of San Antonio*. These letters are a collection of some still preserved for first settlers. The work in itself represents the material of cultural history; but it is also a psychological expression of the rapidly maturing American culture. All old mature cultures treasure their early memories. Early materials are now beginning to exist for only two parts of the United States, the old New England Culture and the old South. With the biological retreat of the New England Yankee and his replacement by an entirely new population, local history for New England is becoming more or less merely an historical episode. On the other hand the still sustained virility of many of the descendants of the early American settlers in the South makes the preservation of their records have a more definite living value for the future of the American Commonwealth.

A science is like an organism in that it either grows or dies. Not only must it become more specific in its parts, but its sweep of generalization must become more practical, macroscopic and bold. The rapid decay of general sociology in the United States, due to its sophomoric cult of inward examination of methodological assumptions, most of which were not only basically false but



foolish from the beginning, should not set any abstruse standard of "respectability" for a virile Rural Sociology. If so, Rural Sociology will also die at the roots and turn instinctively, as have other social sciences which have exhausted no longer usable tacit assumptions, to some faulty popularization of an outmoded doctrine—such as to spurious versions of Marxianism. If Rural Sociology grows it will be vitalized by and will revitalize American cultural history. It is not a question of "hanging together or hanging separately," but rather one of growing together or dying separately.

Harvard University

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

*Leadership for Rural Life.* By Dwight Sanderson. Foreword by M. L. Wilson. New York: Association Press. 1940. 127 pages. \$1.25.

As the content of Rural Sociology develops, it becomes possible from time to time to put into concise form for practical uses its generalizations which pertain to a particular problem. Dr. Sanderson's book, *Leadership for Rural Life*, is a worthy illustration of such an effort in the field of leadership. The theme of the treatise is contained in the use of the word "for" in the title instead of the word "of," as is so frequently true. It is clear that Dr. Sanderson thinks of leadership as a definite part of group life. Accordingly, "every group has some sort of leadership, good or bad, strong or weak. This existing leadership cannot be ignored. The problem is whether it can be educated and strengthened, or whether new leadership must be created to take its place" (p. 27). The second alternative, however, seems to have limited possibilities, for "evidently it is not possible to train for leadership in general except in so far as training may be given in those abilities that are essential for effective leadership" (p. 56). Leadership depends not only upon the abilities of the individual, but upon the nature and changing purposes of the group of which he may become a leader. The professional leader or organization executive who accepts this view of leadership will be concerned with the development of leadership, whereas the one who assumes leadership either exists or does not exist may give up and wait until it arises—if it ever does—for one of the paradoxes of life is that where leaders are most needed they are the least in evidence (p. 12).

The foregoing statements present in a succinct way the theory around which the discussion of leadership is developed in nine chapters dealing with the demand and role of the leader, creating, developing and training leaders, the professional leader, and the meaning and value of leadership to the leader.

While this volume is intended for teachers of college classes, school men, rural ministers, extension workers, and executives of rural organizations, it will be of interest also to research workers in Rural Sociology, as it contains suggestive statements for investigation or research. Its limitations are those of the subject itself, a paucity of detailed factual knowledge about the development and functioning of the group leader.

Michigan State College

C. R. HOFFER.



*Revolution in Land.* By Charles Abrams. New York: Harper & Brothers; 1939. 320 pp. \$3.00.

This interesting, even challenging book is semi-popular but with much factual material and historical perspective contained in it. It discusses the position of land in our national economy and the forces that have contributed to its economic subordination in the United States since colonial times, and advocates greater social control of land, even nationalization, but for reasons exactly opposite those offered by Henry George. Rural sociologists will be particularly interested in the author's lucid description of the operation of social processes with respect to land. He shows how the early urge for land ownership for productive purposes was transformed into an urge for money, thus making land a commodity; how land, once the dominant productive factor in our national life, has been gradually superseded by moveable and intangible forms of wealth; how the general property tax, developed when property was a measure of ability to pay, has gradually become in effect a capital levy maintained largely by convenience of administration. He finds that agricultural surpluses, industrial organization, and mortgage indebtedness have boxed the income from land productivity and that the growing mobility of population and industry are ruining the promise of site value. He concludes that the Federal Government was compelled to intervene during the depression, but that it did so with no plan except to bolster a tottering structure. He points out that the government is prevented by the constitution from attacking the land problem directly, and argues that the present planless procedures will lead logically to government ownership of land purchased at a price far in excess of what would have been necessary to obtain it on a planned basis.

The author emphasizes throughout the common elements in urban and rural land problems. He does not display an intimate knowledge of agriculture, however. Our farm land reserves, which appear to Abrams in the nature of a surplus, will vanish when we put land to those uses for which it is best adapted. He does not discuss the role of government in bringing this about. The author rightly believes that we have not seen the end of farm industrialization, but he implies that only that fraction of population needed to produce food and fibre will dwell on the land. The reader is led to infer that the city is the end of our social order and that industrialization is the means of attaining it. Abrams apparently overlooks the fact that the small farm can be mechanized, and that the mobility and ease of transportation which he emphasizes may be an advantage to the small farmer. Consequently, although interested in national planning to solve the land problem, he presents no discussion of the possibilities of social planning for the purpose of making life on the land tolerable for a considerable proportion of the population.

University of Missouri

C. E. LIVELY

*Fundamental Concepts of Sociology.* By Ferdinand Tönnies (translated and supplemented by Charles P. Loomis). New York: The American Book Company, 1940. Pp. xxiv + 293. \$3.00.

This little book is pregnant with thought from cover to cover. Persons who are thoroughly competent to judge assure us that Loomis has made an excellent translation of the German text without detracting from its value. Sociologists in these latter days will agree that sociology is the study of man's social in contradistinction from his bodily or his psychical nature. The social nature of men is that which induces them to joint action and which makes it possible for them to sustain a common existence. Social relationships are simple to begin with. But the character of these relationships is determined by the underlying motives involved, which motives manifest definite differences ranging from two-person relationships up to the most complex urban situations. In all these relationships, there are expectations, desires, and restraints. In all social relationships, will is an important factor. Associations in which natural will predominates are called *Gemeinschaft* and those which are formed and fundamentally controlled by rational will are called *Gesellschaft*. The Concepts, under careful restrictions are partial equivalents of community and society, but that is not quite exact. *Gemeinschaft* is old, primitive, and somewhat elemental, while *Gesellschaft* is new both substantively and factually; it is a concept of a third estate and not of a people. Wherever urban culture spawns, *Gesellschaft* appears as an indispensable organ. Rural people know little of it. *Gemeinschaft* is a rural phenomenon, the enduring genuine form of living together, and should be understood as a living organism. *Gesellschaft* is transitory and superficial, and should be understood as a mechanical aggregate and artifact. It is largely a question of the complexity of the social aggregate in which the will is manifest that accounts for the difference.

From the point of view of empirical research, this work offers its greatest contributions in the form of concepts. Probably the concepts it contains are of far more value to us than its generalizations. We may well agree with Condorcet when he says that anyone who produces a precise idea for the first time makes a distinct contribution to the progress of philosophy. The same is true in sociology.

Oklahoma Agricultural and  
Mechanical College

OTIS DURANT DUNCAN

*The Landscape of Rural Poverty: Corn Bread and Creek Water.* By Charles Morrow Wilson. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1940. 309 pp. \$3.00.

The first of the three parts of this excellent work is "An Anatomy of the Rural Population," in which is revealed an avoidable American exploitation

of her natural resources and cultural heritage. Erosion is shown to be the unfailling symptom of maladjustment between man and his environment; a wholesome "rural mind," the mainstay of American society; community feeling, the source of agrarian power; increasing tenancy, a sign of insolvency in farming; illiteracy, a serious barrier to a sufficient country life; and aimless contemporary nomadism, incipient in agrarian ruin. Part Two gives a general view and in many instances an intimate inspection of the poor in all rural regions of this country. The treatment is not limited to the farmers of cotton, corn, and wheat, but it includes such often neglected rural groups as the American Indians, lumbermen, fishermen, and truck farmers. Also, the growing non-farm part of the rural population is critically considered. Finally, in the last section, captioned "Doing Something About It," the author considers government participation in country living and the future of rural poverty. The pros and cons of the New Deal program as they relate to the economic and social aspects of farm living are objectively presented. The writer holds that, contrary to an enforced artificial economy of scarcity, "increased total food production and consumption will act in the long run to discourage the spread of social poverty," and that "better use of crops promises to serve as a gyroscope, a balance wheel, for the happier and more spontaneous steering of agricultural destinies."

Because of the wide scope and nature of the subject treated, the work is necessarily in many instances schematic. However, the author succeeds in grouping, in viewing, and in some measure evaluating outstanding symptoms of rural poverty and some of the more notable forces of its remedy. The analysis is corroborated throughout by case histories gained by the writer as a participant observer, reputable monographic studies of the rural population, census data, and other documentary evidences.

Fellow of General Education  
Board Studying at Harvard

CHESTER W. YOUNG

*The Natural History of Agricultural Labor in the South.* By Edgar T. Thompson.  
Reprinted from *American Studies in Honor of W. K. Boyd*. Durham,  
N. C.: Duke University Press, 1940. 75 pp.

This brief essay is a penetrating study of the changing character of agricultural labor and the plantation social order. The author's stated purpose is "... to review the history of agricultural labor in the South with attention to those of its features which illuminate the processes that established precedent, rules of practice, and customary patterns of action and outlook generally."

The analysis is timely because, as the author points out, there are many suggestive parallels between present discussions of share tenancy and antebellum discussions of slavery. The "tragic" aspects of the present system are being increasingly emphasized; other possible systems are brought into comparison with the old. These portents of social change take on new meanings in the light of the historical facts.

In this study, the plantation (envisaged as a political [authority-control] institution as well as an economic unit) is taken as the central element in the history of agricultural labor. The power aspects of this institution are shown to be embedded in customary, personal, *gemeinschaftliche* relations. Thompson maintains that the plantation is to be explained in terms of a situation of "open" resources in which labor rather than "material resources" is scarce. Thus, "... the Southern plantation represents the institutionalization of the South's problem of agricultural labor."

Present labor systems are current stages in a sequence that has moved from the folkways of English apprenticeship, to white indentured servitude, to Negro "servitude for life," and then to slavery. From the first plantations to those of the present, there stretches a 300-year record of gradual change and basic continuity which will repay careful study. The author rightly emphasizes the historical importance of "small" changes in institutions, and skillfully shows how each change is oriented to its predecessor.

The essay deals primarily with plantation labor and makes little mention of the great yeoman groups. The author does not fully utilize his opportunities for generalized analysis, e.g., in relation to social stratification. There is a need for a series of monographs specifically analyzing the role in Southern history of factors which are not systematically treated here, e.g., religious factors in the varying labor systems within the region. However, if a study is to be judged for what it is rather than what it is not, this one is "required reading" for rural sociologists interested in realistic analysis of the roots of the distinctive regional social systems of the United States.

University of Kentucky

ROBIN M. WILLIAMS

*The Spirit of French Canada: A Study of the Literature.* By Ian Forbes Fraser, New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. 219 pp. \$2.75.

This interesting analysis of French Canadian literature from 1850 to 1930, is organized around five major elements that have been extremely vital in the life and destiny of that civilization. They are: The history of the race, the mother country, the Roman Catholic Church, language and folklore, and the cult of the soil. Beginning with the work of Garneau, up to the contemporary writings of Abbé Groulx, Fraser has convincingly shown how these five elements have been the source and inspiration for the great majority of writers. Their literature has been of an utilitarian type, one with a mission: to foster national unification against the continual threat of national absorption and extinction.

Fraser's study leads him to conclude that French Canadian writers, with few exceptions, "have propagandized for a better knowledge of Canadian history, for deeper devotion to religion, for the retention of the language, for fidelity to the soil, for preservation to the old folk ways." As Groulx has tersely expressed it: *Chez nous, écrire c'est vivre, se défendre et se prolonger.*

To the rural sociologist who is interested in the role of literature in helping

to preserve a cultural pattern and a way of life, that is at present showing signs of disintegration, this book is highly recommended.

Louisiana State University

VERNON J. PARENTON

*Youth in Agricultural Villages.* Research Monograph XXI, Works Progress Administration Division of Research. Washington, D. C., 1940.

*An American Exodus, a Record of Human Erosion.* By Dorothea Lange and Paul Schuster Taylor. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock; 1939.

The first of these books presents a statistical analysis of the non-farm youth in 45 villages as of June 1, 1936. The factors analyzed include mobility, personal characteristics, educational attainment, employment, occupations, financial status, and recreational activities. The second is a pictorial account, accompanied by typical statements, of rural people forced from the land. It raises the question of the relative social value of displacing man power by machines, pointing out inconsistencies in the present government programs. Both books are concerned with social groups whose positions and functionings have been disrupted by recent social and economic changes.

Ames, Iowa

MARGARET W. RYAN

*Negro Youth at the Crossways.* By E. Franklin Frazier. Washington: American Council on Education, 1940, xxiii 294 pp.

Professor Frazier and his assistants interviewed 268 Negro boys and girls for the purpose of determining "what kind of person a Negro youth is or is in the process of becoming as a result of the limitations which are placed upon his or her participation in the life of the communities in the border states" . . . Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, and the District of Columbia. The research was conducted mainly in Washington, but 62 youths in Louisville, Kentucky, were used "as a check on the Washington materials." The interviewers, Negro men and women with college training, used memorized outlines prepared by the director of the study. We may assume that they wrote reports of their interviews from memory. Three social classes are recognized: an upper class consisting of professional people, business proprietors, postoffice employees, and even some domestic servants; a middle class composed of skilled or semi-skilled workers and most of the domestic servants; and a lower class to which belong the laborers and the indigent. The roles of the family, neighborhood, school, church, job-seeking, and social movements in determining the attitudes of Negro youth were studied. Case analyses of a boy of the middle class and a girl of the lower class supplement the report of interviews.

Negro youths are found, first of all, to think and feel about many things in a perfectly normal way: they revolt more or less mildly against parental control; they find fault with what is taught them in school; they wish that religion



would "keep up with modern times"; they would like to have jobs that pay well; they admire successful prize-fighters. This normal response to modern conditions is likely to be lost sight of in the author's concern with the attitudes that develop out of conditions peculiar to the Negro. What does the Negro youth think of himself as a Negro? What does he think of other Negroes and of whites? What is his response to the various social movements and ideologies? Does he want to be white? Will the color line be drawn in Heaven too? What are the effects upon him of frustration? These are questions which the study attempts to answer. How well the attitudes expressed represent young Negroes in general, even those in the border states, can only be surmised. It would appear from the study that the class factor is important. However, the study does represent a very much worthwhile attempt to find amidst the clamor of groups the authentic voice of the Negro. Professor Frazier is striving, not wholly in vain it seems, to make that voice articulate.

Teaching Fellow  
Harvard University

ROLLIN CHAMBLISS

*Country Editor*. By Henry Bettie Hough. New York: Doubleday Doran.  
1940. 325 pp. \$3.00.

The last year has seen a number of books viewing rural life through the eyes of a particular profession. *Country Doctor* and *Country Lawyer* have now been followed by *Country Editor*, which, like its predecessors, has had its deserved listings on the lists of non-fiction best sellers. All these books deal with the raw materials of rural sociology with intelligence and insight.

*Hough's Gazette* has never had a circulation of over 3,000 copies. It is just a country weekly, though it is probably the most quoted and quotable rural weekly in the United States. Its editors, our author and his wife, left the city by choice to cast in their lot with the folks on Martha's Vineyard. They do not regret their choice, nor, it should be added, do their neighbors.

Some of the book is naturally devoted to accounts of the problems of news gathering, editing, publishing and financing a rural weekly. Other chapters, as the blurb correctly says, are "replete with authentic Americana, magnificent anecdotes and character studies." Mr. Hough views and interprets the life of his community from town meeting to town drunkard. His comments on the personal character of news in a rural community and why news must be so plumbs deeper than the wordier writings of some social psychologists. The contrasting of the urban and rural world has rarely been done with such finesse and insight.

One of the most delightful, even hilarious, chapters is that which shows why almost everything the author learned in the School of Journalism of the reviewer's university was just the opposite of what should be taught to a country editor. Inferentially this chapter with merely a change of nomenclature and illustration is a fine argument for having rural sociology as well as sociology, rural education as well as education in a university curriculum.

The reviewer has placed this book on the reading list of his students, knowing that for once they will be getting something they will enjoy as well as something they should have in one and the same reference.

Teachers College  
Columbia University

EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER

*Forgotten People*, By George I. Sanchez. Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press. 1940. 98 pp. \$2.00.

This book dramatizes the clash of American culture with that of the people of Spanish descent in New Mexico. Sanchez demonstrates that the higher the proportion of Spanish-speaking people, the more acute the problems of poor health, illiteracy, poverty, and bad government, and the more inadequate the provisions for meeting these problems. A century of American citizenship which began with the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo has, according to the author, brought the Spanish of the Southwest to the status of a "Forgotten People" in a nation to whom they are at most "stepchildren." Deprivation of their communal grazing lands, soil depletion, taxation, overpopulation and the bombardment of a commercialized livestock economy and modern material culture on a previously isolated people of Sixteenth Century Spanish traditions has led to a philosophy of "defeatism." Sanchez blames the government for introducing schools and programs developed for "Anglos" and for not assisting in the adjustment, but puts the burden of the responsibility of the Spanish for failing to become Americans on his own people. His report advocates an overhauling and coordination of all public agencies and now furnishes the basis for a program financed by the Carnegie Foundation for Toas County.

As reviewer, I wish to credit Sanchez for his fine contribution which all who want to understand the Southwest must read; my chief criticism is one involving values. Is a century's duration of American commercialism sufficient to prove its superiority when the Spanish-Indian culture is of much greater duration? Who would be faring best in the Southwest following twenty years of extremely low prices for livestock if there were no government subsidies? No doubt the Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest must be educated to adjust in their new situation but the adjustment should be of a two-way nature. The author's indictment of the bad in the new American culture is not severe enough. The Anglos should have to do some of the adjusting.

United States Department  
of Agriculture

CHARLES P. LOOMIS

*What's Ahead For Rural America.* Proceedings of the Twenty-Second American Country Life Conference, State College, Pennsylvania, Aug. 30-Sept. 2, 1939. University of Chicago Press for the American Country Life Association. 173 pp. \$2.00.

This small volume contains more than twenty papers and an account of business transactions of the Association for 1939. The presidential address by Dean Christensen, from which the book gains its title, is probably the most stimulating paper in the lot. On the whole, the book will offer little to the rural sociologist; its function is clearly other than that of intellectual stimulation in the profession.

Iowa State College

BRYCE RYAN

*An Empire of Dust.* By Lawrence Svobida. Caldwell, Idaho. The Caxton Printers, Ltd. 1940. Pp. 7-203. \$2.00.

This book might well be called, "An Autobiography of the Dust Bowl." The author undertakes to give a personal story, extending from 1929 to 1939, of his struggles and that of many of his neighbors, who were either "blown out," "burned out," or "starved out," in that part of the Great Plains area, now known as the Dust Bowl. The author assumes the position of an insider looking out. The scene of action is Meade County, Kansas.

Although this is not the first time that this area has been subject to howling winds and blowing soil, the author believes that it is the first time the attack has been so intensive and extensive. It has not been the result of one day or one year of drouth. The author believes the crux of the contemporary situation is found in power farming. Pulverization of the soil facilitates its blowing and moving with the slightest breeze. Man's greed and carelessness has upset the balance of nature.

The author relates his experience with the various stages of the AAA. He decries the greed and cupidity on the part of the farmers, pettiness in the officials who administered the program, and the "red tape" involved in securing government assistance in his area, although much of this was weeded out in succeeding years.

Because of its semi-autobiographical nature, the pages of the book are well sprinkled with personal anecdotes of the author, ranging from incidents such as being lost in a dust storm to difficulties in maintaining machinery, domestic activities, travel, and health. Dust pneumonia took a rather large toll of lives.

It portrays vividly the chance relationships involved in wheat farming; the delicate margins involved between harvesting a good or bad crop, and, as such, is informative for those seeking superficial knowledge on the subject.

The author ends on an extremely pessimistic tone, and although he applauds the heroic work of the government to stem the tide of eroding soil, he believes it is futile. To replant it with grass is impossible: there is not enough seed in the United States to plant the 200,000,000 acres needing grass cover, and the wind destroys much of the reclamation work before its completion. The author resigns the blowing area to the fate of becoming the "Great American Desert."

The book is not documented, and the figures quoted have been secured from the United States Department of Agriculture. The book is well illustrated with photographs. It is fairly well written, non-technical, interesting from the humanistic angle, and should be viewed as belonging to a local area. However, it is somewhat tiresome reading in places, as the author repeats faithfully the vicissitudes of each year, which involve much the same activities. Occasionally the reader becomes confused as to the year under consideration as the author skips around from one year to the other without clearness.

Brigham Young University

JOHN LANDWARD

*Preface to Eugenics.* By Frederick Osborn. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1940. Pp. xi, 312. \$2.75.

So far as heredity and environment, quality and quantity of population are important conditions of any society and culture, this book gives a concise analysis of these conditions in the light of the extant-biological, psychological, and sociological-knowledge in these fields. Side by side with this theoretical analysis, it formulates the principles of the best possible eugenical policy for the Euro-American societies of the present time. The theoretical as well as practical treatment of these problems is sober, competent, and free from one-sidedness so common in the works on eugenics. Some points of the author's population policy may be questioned and disagreed with; but even in these points the author's judgement is to be reckoned with. Of the concise existing works in the field, Osborn's book is possibly the best.

Harvard University

PITIRIM A. SOROKIN

*Social Pathology.* By Stuart A. Queen and Jenette R. Gruener. New York: Crowell Publishing Company, 1940. x, 662 pp. \$3.50.

The authors of this text try not to make the usual approach to submerged persons, but focus their attention rather upon the effect of the social problem measured in terms of social participation. The main part of the book deals with the conditions commonly referred to as "social problems." In each instance, the discussion is launched with one or two case records. This is followed by an examination of the data available for and pertaining to the problem. Finally, an estimate is made of the degree of impairment to participation in group life occasioned by the problem condition. As a result of their venture, they emerge with the conclusion that handicaps really do restrict the social participation of the affected individuals, and in differing degrees.

The work is able and scholarly. The data are inclusive, complete, and representative and the discussion is clear, concise and readable. However, two points of criticism might be indicated. In the first place, the obvious difficulty with selecting for textbook procedure "some particular aspect for concentrated study" is that one has to over-emphasize the selected "aspect" to the exclusion of other perhaps equally important, though less fascinating aspects.

The second point of criticism would be with regard to the title "Social Pathology." I question the suitability of this title for a work which the authors qualify as follows: "... we have made no assumptions as to the *moral value* of any particular degree of social participation. . . ." And in another place, "... our concern is with the facts, *not* with their *evaluation*." If there is any branch of sociology in which the *evaluation* of facts is more nearly indispensable to a grasp of the subject than with "social problems," I beg enlightenment.

Rhode Island State College.

W. R. GORDON

*On Medlock Farm.* By Henry Tetlow. New York: William Morrow & Company; 1940, 272 pp.

This is the second book by Tetlow portraying life on Medlock farm. His first, *We Farm for a Hobby and Make it Pay*, (See RURAL SOCIOLOGY, Vol. III, p. 341) was written in 1938 and dealt with how he combined the managing of a cosmetic manufacturing concern with farming. This second is a chatty, informal presentation of the author's experiences and views concerning part-time farming. Although interesting to read, it has little sociological significance. It fails to give, as one might expect it to do, insight into the typical part-time farming pattern. Mr. Tetlow is not representative of those who are part-time farming purely as a pastime, nor is he one of those who have been forced by economic necessity to make the farm contribute every cent possible to family living. Instead, he is a strange mixture of both groups in that while farming is very definitely a hobby with him, he is trying to make it pay.

No attempt is made to make the order of treatment logical or complete. The views expressed by Mr. Tetlow concerning such topics as rural smells, walking for exercise, poultry raising and the making of dandelion wine are so personalized that, while they give us a glimpse of the man's own personality, they do not give us much insight into the thought pattern and living habits of part-time farmers.

Pennsylvania State College

M. E. JOHN

*Pascua, a Yaqui Village in Arizona.* By Edward H. Spicer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; 1940. \$3.50.

Pascua is a settlement on the outskirts of Tuscon, its inhabitants first or second generation Yaquis from various parts of Sonora, Mexico. In May, 1937, there were sixty households or 429 persons in the village. The author and his wife lived there from June, 1936 through July, 1937, studying contacts and culture differences between the Yaquis and the native white population. An expression of the complexity of the Yaqui ceremonial life and its extended relations is found in the author's statements that "the end of the year found the investigators so involved in village affairs that proper recordings of happenings



and their interpretation was seriously interfered with." Apparently the Yaqui finds himself in the same position when he attempts to hold a steady job and participate in the ceremonial societies at the same time. Ceremonial participation is held in higher esteem than a steady job. The Yaquis are considered good workers by their employers, although they frequently leave their jobs for a period and return to the village for ceremonial activities.

The Indians are bound together through blood relationships involving economic obligations; ceremonial sponsorship, which carries with it an extension of kinship terminology and involves ritual relations; and membership in one or more of the ceremonial societies, the mutual obligations of which are usually expressed by economic assistance. The major portion of this book is devoted to a study of these three factors and their interrelationships. Particular emphasis is placed on the functional inconsistency between an individual's desire to provide for his family through a steady job, and at the same time to merit the acclaim of his fellows through active participation in village ceremonial life. This conflict is in some measure being resolved by reorientation of the Pascola dance society toward Christian ritual rather than animal association, discontinuance of the deer-dancer; and where the individual feels the conflict sharply, he withdraws from one or the other of the culture patterns.

Ames, Iowa

MARGARET W. RYAN

*A School In The Country: The Adventures of a Small Town Superintendent.* By Chalmer Richardson. New York: Greenberg, 1940. 251 pp. \$2.00.

That country educators can be a power in their own right, is the theme of this novel. The farm-reared hero says, "It's the special problems that you get paid for, the teaching you do for the love of it." Each of the twenty-nine short chapters is a sketch of such pupil problems or school problems. The school is geared to helping each child get more out of life, without hindering the one a year who goes on to college. Rustic comedy and tragedy are simply told in this addition to the growing list of country-side morality tales. They are both molders and indicators of the mores.

University of Kentucky

MERTON OYLER

*Social Legislation.* By Helen I. Clarke. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1940. xv, 655 pp. \$4.50.

When evaluated in accordance with its proposed use in graduate schools of social work, this survey of legislation and judicial decisions bearing on social security, in-family and family-state relations may be found adequate. But as far as sociologists (as distinguished from "social pathologists") are concerned, the book offers little more than a beautiful illustration of the confusion attending the amassment of common sense knowledge in terms of such practical, non-theoretical, non-scientific problems as divorce, parent-child separation, care of

the poor, etc. The sheer quantity of materials included or referred to would be admirable were it not for the dearth of synthesizing interpretation, a failing which, incidentally, need not be a concomitance of the survey method. A sociological analysis of Professor Clarke's materials from either institutional or Paretian points of view would afford an interesting comparison.

Tulane University

N. J. DEMERATH

*Order and Possibility in Social Life.* By Douglas G. Haring and Mary E. Johnson. New York: Richard R. Smith, 1940. xii, 772 pp. \$4.00.

The authors here present their version of appropriate material for an undergraduate course in introductory sociology. Sociology for them is a descriptive science whose purpose it is to set forth the "cultural situations which condition the highly plastic human organism." Book One consists of ethnological digests of eight preliterate or primitive tribes and the Chinese. Books Two and Three describe man's place in the organic world and the rise of his personality. Books Four and Five contain cultural-anthropological accounts of modern societies. The closing section suggests a scientific approach to the study of human societies to the end that one may "discover the possibilities of human social living."

University of Wisconsin

GEO. W. HILL

*Introductory Sociology* (revised). By Robert L. Sutherland and Julian L. Woodward. Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1940. xii, 863 pp. \$3.50.

Few textbooks for the introductory course in sociology have been more popular than the first edition of Sutherland and Woodward's *Introductory Sociology*. Rural sociologists having responsibilities for the general course have been among its most enthusiastic users. To them, this thorough revision will prove most welcome.

In the new edition, almost every chapter contains some revisions, and much of the book has been completely rewritten. The expansion of materials on the community and social organization are significant, and a more adequate treatment of cooperation is decidedly advantageous. The book retains its readable style. Particularly impressive is the fact that it has been embellished with a large number of excellent and well selected photographs.

Louisiana State University

T. LYNN SMITH

*Administration of Public Welfare.* By R. Clyde White. New York: American Book Company, 1940. xiv, 527 pp. \$3.25.

There have been many depression produced monographs on public welfare, especially government-printed documents. Professor R. Clyde White has given us a text in public welfare that is on a high academic level. It is written from a generalized point of view so that it gives the reader a glimpse into the broad

scope of public welfare, not merely a detailed account of one of its many segments. The author recommends his work to all public welfare workers, but the reviewer wonders if it is not too academic to hope for such popular adoption. The scope of the material covered can be seen from the following divisional headings into which the twenty-seven chapters are grouped: Public Welfare Organization, Methods of Treatment, Personnel, Finance, Public Relations, and Statistics and Research.

University of Wisconsin

GEO. W. HILL

*A Survey of the Standards of Life of New Zealand Dairy Farmers.* By W. T. Doig. Wellington, New Zealand: Published for the New Zealand Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations. 1940. Pp. 9 + 113. 2s 6d.

This is a fragmentary family budget and plane of living investigation based on data collected from 526 New Zealand dairy farmers and their families for the year 1937. The work begins with a theoretical chapter on "Concepts and Methods," followed by others on "The Farms," "Households and Families," "Housing and Household Equipment," "Work and Leisure," "Expenditure and Consumption," and "A Study of Related Factors." These "Related Factors" are tenure, butterfat production, age of farmer, his schooling, his occupational history, and the work of the wives on the farms. Generally these so-called independent variables are associated with items of consumption supposedly indicative of good living such as possession of telephone, vacuum cleaner, washing machine, septic tank, radio, motor car, and amount of wifely assistance at other than household affairs. A statistical summary describes the tests of representativeness of the sample and the formulas used in the coefficients of association and contingency for the study of "related factors." The chapter on "Expenditure and Consumption" limits itself to furnishings and household equipment, telephones, annual subscriptions for reading matter, life and endowment insurance, medical costs, oculists and opticians, dental outgo, lodge and friendly society contributions, formal schooling and holidays. John H. Kolb, former President of the Rural Sociological Society, was largely responsible for the inception of this study.

*An Ozark Anthology.* By Vance Randolph. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, 1940. 374 pp. \$1.70.

"The Ozark Mountain country is a strange land, and very few outsiders know anything about it." So believing, Vance Randolph has added his *Anthology* to an already sizeable list of books written by him which deal with the problems and life of the people of this area.

Asserting that he has read "everything of any consequence" that has been published about the Ozark people, and contending that most of this literature is "pretty bad," the author has selected fifteen stories and articles which he considers to be the very best material that has been written about the region. The list of authors includes Charles Morrow Wilson, Rose Wilder Lane, Nancy

Clemens, William Cunningham, Rose O'Neill, Emily Newell Blair, and Robert L. Morris, among others.

Up to the present time, the so-called hillbilly has lived his life comparatively isolated from the rest of the world. Urbanization and its concomitants have failed to penetrate his region to any considerable degree. Randolph's *Anthology* portrays a people which, though mostly lacking in the achievements of a mechanized, urbanized, and industrial age, nevertheless are rich in the elements which characterize a familistic, solidaristic, *gemeinschaft* society.

*Region and Culture in the Curriculum of the Navaho and the Dakota.* By Allan Hulsizer. Federalsburg, Maryland: J. W. Stowell Co., 1940. xxv, 344 pp.

This study seeks to assemble and analyze pertinent data concerning two United States Indian Tribes: the Navahos and Dakotas. The purpose of the work is to establish a basis for an educational program for future generations. Physiographical, economic, and social conditions existing among these two tribes are described, while one section discusses the effect of national factors upon Indian programs.

A number of suggestions have been made relative to a future Indian educational program. Particular stress is given the home and community as educational agencies of fundamental importance. Such emphasis, in the light of the author's findings as well as the findings of many other workers in the field of sociology, is well taken.

*A Educação nos Estados Unidos. Da Chegada do Mayflower aos Dias Presentes.* By A. Carneiro Leão. Rio de Janeiro: Rodrigues & Cia., 1940. ii, 100 pp. (Price not given.)

This study by Catedrático Leão (see *Rural Sociology*, September 1940, p. 286) concerns the history of school education in the United States since the Mayflower. Its chief interest for us lies in his characterization of our education and its brief comparison with European on pp. 76-94. Our educational system is tied up with our history, our immigration policy, our individualism and our "*dinamismo inevitavel*" (inevitable dynamism). It should help us to enlarge what Cooley calls the "looking glass self" by using the eyes of our Latin-American neighbors as the mirror.

#### NOTE

In editing the review of Hopkins' *Elements of Farm Management* on p. 481, December, 1940 issue, three words were omitted which changed the meaning of the first sentence. The 1940 reviewer, William T. Ham, referred to an earlier review of the first edition of the same book (R. J. Saville's review, *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, Vol. II, 1937, p. 104), and the omission gave the impression that Dr. William T. Ham was announcing himself as a farm management specialist, rather than referring to Dr. R. J. Saville in that capacity. The Review Editor notes, corrects, and apologizes.

# News Notes and Announcements

*Edited by Robert A. Polson*

## EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

With this issue of RURAL SOCIOLOGY a new editorial board takes over. Certain changes in policy are being instituted. We want to make the Journal now directly self supporting and independent from any subsidy so far as possible. We plan to spread the editorial responsibility over a larger number of persons so as to have several acquainted with each job in case the emergency should require the services of any individual. We hope to cooperate more closely with the Catholic Rural Life Movement to bring into direct support of our efforts all agencies attempting to promote a more permanent and lasting ruralism on the American continents. This is particularly important because the great bodies of rural French Canadians, Spanish Americans in our own Southwest, Mexicans, Central and South Americans are primarily of the Catholic faith. We hope to establish more direct connections with our Canadian and Hispanic American friends in furtherance of the hemisphere policies of our own national government. We shall try to present résumés of our chief contributions both in French and Spanish. We are not able to do this for this first issue but, as time goes on, we hope that this can be accomplished.

In furtherance of this hemisphere policy for Rural Life, which is an addition to our previous national and international aims of making this *the* World Journal for the scientific study of Rural Life, the editors have asked T. Lynn Smith of the University of Louisiana to be Liaison Editor for Hispanic-American cooperation, and Reverend Edgar Schmiedeler, O. S. B., Lecturer in Rural Sociology, the Catholic University of America, and Director of the Rural Life Bureau of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, to be Liaison Editor for North American cooperation.

The policies we are adopting will have to be developed gradually as experience finds the proper way for us. In furtherance of these policies we want to make the JOURNAL more compact so as to increase the amount of material printed. This will reduce paper cost and mailing charges particularly if the Journal increases its circulation among our Canadian and southern neighbors. We are asking each contributor to be chary in the use of words. Words are like tools. The proper word in a simple direct sentence structure oftentimes does the work of several inadequate sentences. We hope each article can represent that proper combination of empirical fact and tested theory which makes for a really creative social science.

The new editors cannot begin their work properly without paying full tribute to the first set of editors, who out of their own busy lives spared the hours of work which created and made the initial Journal the great success it is today.

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN  
C. HORACE HAMILTON



## ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

*Congress Hotel, Chicago, December 27, 1940*

The meeting was called to order at 12:30 by the chairman, John H. Kolb.

President Kolb reviewed briefly the background leading up to the organization of the Rural Sociological Society. As pioneers in rural sociology he recalled the efforts of Charles J. Galpin, J. M. Gillette, Alfred G. Arvold, and Ernest Burnham.

He also commented on the foreign members of the society and suggested that the secretary write each of them a letter.

C. E. Lively reported for the executive committee on plans for the continuance of RURAL SOCIOLOGY. The executive committee unanimously recommended the following procedure:

That the journal RURAL SOCIOLOGY remain the official organ of the Rural Sociological Society and under its control, as provided for at present. Also, that the Department of Rural Sociology, State College of Agriculture and Engineering, University of North Carolina, be designated the sponsor for a period of five years. Furthermore, that the sponsor be made responsible for the necessary expenses of publication and management over and above the income of the journal.

After a brief discussion the recommendation was tabled in order to allow for further discussion and to postpone final decision until the meeting of the society at 10 a.m., December 28.

C. E. Lively offered the following resolution, which was adopted unanimously:

Whereas the Louisiana State University has sponsored and published RURAL SOCIOLOGY as the official journal of the Rural Sociological Society for the past five years, and in doing so has annually incurred a certain financial loss; and whereas, T. Lynn Smith of the department of sociology has, with the permission of the university, spent much time and effort as managing editor to ensure the success of the journal, be it resolved that the Rural Sociological Society extend a vote of thanks to Louisiana State University and to Dr. Smith for the splendid manner in which they have contributed to the success of the journal RURAL SOCIOLOGY, and that they be commended for their interest in supporting this undertaking.

Be it further resolved that this resolution be entered in the minutes of the society and that copies be transmitted to the proper authorities at Louisiana State University.

It was moved and seconded, passed unanimously that joint membership for \$3.50 be established for husbands and wives who both desire membership in the society and who desire only one subscription to RURAL SOCIOLOGY.

C. R. Hoffer, W. H. Stacy, and N. L. Whetten gave brief preliminary reports on the activities of the teaching, research, and extension committees of the society.

The meeting adjourned at 2:45 p.m.

## ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

*Congress Hotel, Chicago, December 28, 1940*

The meeting was called to order at 10 a.m. by the chairman, John H. Kolb.

Lowry Nelson moved that the society accept the recommendation of the executive committee with respect to the publication of RURAL SOCIOLOGY. The motion was seconded by D. E. Lindstrom. The motion was put and carried unanimously.

The chairman next called for the report of the committee of tellers (Merton Oyler, chairman, Olaf Larson, and B. O. Williams), appointed to canvass the result of the mail ballots. The committee reported the election of the following officers for 1941:

President.....	T. Lynn Smith
Vice-President.....	Edmund deS. Brunner
Secretary-Treasurer.....	Robert A. Polson
Member of the Executive Committee.....	C. Horace Hamilton
Member of the Committee on Teaching.....	O. D. Duncan
Member of the Committee on Research.....	A. R. Mangus
Member of the Committee on Extension.....	D. E. Lindstrom
Member of the Board of Editors.....	T. J. Woofter, Jr.

The meeting adjourned at 10:30 a.m.

## ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

*Congress Hotel, Chicago, December 29, 1940*

The meeting was called to order at 1:30 by the chairman, John H. Kolb.

Carle C. Zimmerman and C. Horace Hamilton, editor and managing editor, respectively, of RURAL SOCIOLOGY, gave brief statements concerning the new arrangements for the journal. Hamilton suggested that the society look into the matter of acquiring title to the surplus issues of RURAL SOCIOLOGY.

The report of the secretary-treasurer was called for, and the following statement presented:

## FINANCIAL STATEMENT

1940

*Receipts*

Cash on hand, December 21, 1939.....		\$172.84	
*367 total memberships.....	\$1,096.05	1,096.05	
319 active members.....	957.00		
1 honorary member.....	3.00		
2 contributing members, \$10 each.....	20.00		
1 contributing member.....	7.50		
*42 student members.....	105.05		
1 joint membership.....	3.50		
7 1939 memberships paid.....	21.00	21.00	
Total receipts.....			\$1,289.89

*Expenditures*

## TO RURAL SOCIOLOGY

366 1940 subscriptions @ \$2.50.....	\$915.00	
7 1939 subscriptions @ \$2.50.....	17.50	
		\$932.50
Printing.....	35.97	
Office supplies and postage.....	60.08	
Galpin memberships and subscriptions.....	19.00	
Bank service and clearance charges.....	.30	
Telegrams.....	1.22	
		116.57
Total expenditures.....		\$1,049.07
Receipts.....	\$1,289.89	
Expenditures.....	1,049.07	
Cash on hand December 21, 1940.....	240.82	

\* Service charge of .05 added to one check sent in by member.

The president then called upon the chairman of the auditing committee for its report which was given as follows:

December 28, 1940

This is to certify that we have examined the attached financial statement of the Rural Sociological Society for 1940, and that we find it to be correct.

## Auditing Committee

/s/ W. H. Stracy

/s/ Conrad Tacuber

/s/ Howard W. Beers, chairman

It was moved, seconded, and unanimously carried that the reports of the secretary-treasurer and auditing committee be approved as read.

N. L. Whetten presented a report on the activities of the committee on personnel.

The president, John H. Kolb, recommended that membership on the standing committees of the society be increased from three to five members. It was moved, seconded, and unanimously approved that this be done.

T. Lynn Smith suggested that it might be well to change the time for the annual meeting of the society. Dwight Sanderson expressed approval of the idea and moved that the executive committee be instructed to confer with the allied societies and then to canvass the membership of the society on the question of meeting at other times of the year and also on the possibility of rotating meetings throughout the country.

The motion was carried by the society.

The president asked for a show of hands on the most desirable time for the annual meeting.

- 4 favored having the meeting just before the fall term  
 17 favored having the meeting in November at the time of the land grant college meeting  
 4 favored some time in the spring  
 M. L. Wilson and Carl C. Taylor addressed the meeting with reference to the implications of national defense for rural sociologists.  
 The meeting adjourned at 3:00 p.m.

#### NEW MEMBERS AND FORMER MEMBERS REJOINING IN 1941

(Supplementing Membership List Published in December 1940, Issue of RURAL SOCIOLOGY)

Beath, John W.	LaCrosse State Teachers College	LaCrosse, Wis.
Brockway, Marian L.	601 West Park Street	Olathe, Kan.
Burnham, Fred M., Jr.		Bolton, Mass.
*Davies, Vernon	University of Minnesota	Minneapolis, Minn.
Dimit, Beatty H.	Indiana State Teachers College	Indiana, Penn.
Fuller, Varden	222 Mercantile Building	Berkeley, Calif.
*Kaufman, Harold F.	Cornell University	Ithaca, N. Y.
Kumlien, W. F.	South Dakota State College	Brookings, S. D.
McCollum, Mattie Faye	Supervisor, Division of Research and Statistics, Department of Public Welfare, P.O. Box 1945	Oklahoma City, Okla.
McLaughlin, J. C.	Dean of Agricultural & Technical College	Greensboro, N. C.
Mayo, Selz C.	N. C. State College, University of North Carolina	Raleigh, N. C.
*Mendelsohn, Nathan K.	1569 52nd Street	Brooklyn, N. Y.
*Mosbacher, E. G.	University of Illinois	Urbana, Ill.
Morgan, Arthur	Community Service	Yellow Springs, O.
Nylin, V. E.	State Teachers College	Platteville, Wis.
Shankweiler, Paul W.	Fla. State College for Women	Tallahassee, Fla.
*Stadel, E. V.	University of Illinois	Urbana, Ill.
Stein, Rev. B. J.	St. John's University Library	Collegeville, Minn.
†Taeuber, Mrs. Irene	201 Jackson Avenue	Hyattsville, Md.
Tannous, Afif	University of Minnesota	University Farm, Minn.
*Vergeront, Glen V.	University of Illinois	Urbana, Ill.
*White, James E.	Cornell University	Ithaca, N. Y.
Young, Donald	360 Woodland Avenue	Philadelphia, Penn.

\* Student Member. † Joint Member.

#### HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Dr. Charles P. Loomis of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, is giving two courses, Social Organization and Population Problems, during the second semester in the Department of Sociology. During the summer session Professors Ford, Glueck and Zimmerman of this Department, and Dean Fred C. Frey of Louisiana State University will give courses.

Professor Sorokin is delivering a course of eight lectures at the Lowell Institute in Boston on "Twilight of Sensate Culture or Contemporary Social and Cultural Crisis."

Professor Zimmerman's monograph, "Siam, Rural Economic Survey," Bangkok, 1931, has been published in a Siamese translation by the Royal Siamese Department of Education for use as a social science text in Siamese colleges and universities.

Professor Sorokin's fourth volume of "Social and Cultural Dynamics" is in press and is expected to be out before May.

#### NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND ENGINEERING

Professor R. A. Fisher, Sc.D., F.R.S., Galton Professor, University College, University of London, has accepted an offer to be a Visiting Professor of Experimental-Statistics at North Carolina State College during the summer session June 16 to July 25, 1941.

Professor Gertrude M. Cox, head of the newly established department of Experimental-Statistics, also has invited several other leaders in various fields of applied statistics to come to the college this summer and assist in conducting special courses and conferences. These will be related to statistics and its associated fields and will be open to persons who may wish to attend all or a part of the summer session. One of these conferences has been arranged for rural sociologists and agricultural economists during the week of June 23-27. It has been planned to make this conference something on the order of a statistical workshop. There will be round-table discussions on selected research projects as well as opportunities for personal conferences.

#### UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

Applications for graduate assistantships in rural sociology will be received at the University of Kentucky by Dr. Howard W. Beers, Professor of Rural Sociology, or by Dr. W. D. Nicholls, Head of the Department of Farm Economics. There is opportunity for summer employment of one or two candidates for the master's degree in connection with a series of population studies just initiated at the Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station.

#### SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The Southern Sociological Society will hold its sixth annual meeting on April 4th-5th at Atlanta, Georgia, with headquarters at the Miami Biltmore Hotel. The program will have the following sections: Public Welfare and Social Work, Teaching of Sociology, Race and Culture, The Community, Population, and Social Research.

The president of the Southern Sociological Society is Prof. B. O. Williams, of the University of Georgia at Athens, Georgia; and the secretary-treasurer is Prof. Coyle E. Moore, of the Florida State College for Women, Tallahassee, Florida.



## NOMINATING COMMITTEE

This year's nominating committee is as follows: P. G. Beck, chairman, Farm Security Administration, Indianapolis; Robert C. Clark, Iowa State College; M. E. John, Pennsylvania State College; T. G. Standing, Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, Little Rock; and Robin Williams, University of Kentucky.